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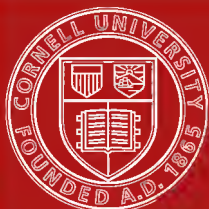
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ITINERARY FROM BORDEAUX TO JERUSALEM.



Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

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# Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem.

‘THE BORDEAUX PILGRIM’

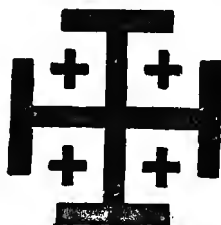
(333 A.D.).

Translated by

AUBREY STEWART, ESQ., M.A.,

AND ANNOTATED BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE name of the author of the 'Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem' is unknown ; he was possibly a native of Guienne, perhaps of Bordeaux itself ; and he was in all probability a Christian, for, until the Holy Land is reached, the 'Itinerary' differs little from the bare official tables of the 'Antonine Itinerary.' The journey was made in 333 A.D., when Flavius Valerius Dalmatius (brother of the Emperor Constantine) and Marcus Aurelius Zenophilus were joint Consuls. The 'Itinerary' is the earliest record of a pilgrimage extant, and that part of it which relates to the Holy Places is highly interesting and instructive from the marked absence of those minor traditions that collected round every sacred site during the fifth and sixth centuries. We hear nothing, for instance, of the cross and its adoration ; of the lance ; of the crown of thorns ; or of other relics. With the single exception of the Column of the Flagellation, places made memorable by some event in sacred history are alone mentioned ; and the legendary sites noticed, such as the crypt in which Solomon tortured the devils, and the chamber in which he wrote the Book of Wisdom, are connected with Jewish, not Christian history, and cluster round the Temple of the Jews, rather than round the Tomb of Christ.

The Pilgrim seems to have gone to the Holy Land like Origen, 'to search after the footsteps of Jesus, and His disciples, and the prophets ;' or, perhaps, in the spirit of

Constantine's mother, 'to seek knowledge of a land so worthy of veneration,' and to 'render thanksgivings with prayers' on ground hallowed by the Saviour's feet, in accordance with the words of the Psalmist, 'Let us worship at the place whereon His feet have stood.'<sup>1</sup> Such, at any rate, appear to have been the guiding motives of the earliest pilgrims, who were as much earnest seekers after knowledge as devotees. Alexander, the first pilgrim of whom there is any record, is stated to have gone to Palestine 'for the sake of prayer, and of obtaining knowledge of the (holy) places by inquiry ;' and even as late as 386 A.D. we find the same view expressed more fully by Jerome, in the Epistle of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella. 'It would be tedious now to run through every age from the ascension of the Lord to the present day, and enumerate the bishops, the martyrs, the men eloquent in ecclesiastical learning, who have come to Jerusalem because they thought that they had less religion, less knowledge, and had not, as the phrase is, received the finishing stroke of their virtues, unless they had adored Christ in those places whence the Gospel had first shone forth from the Cross.'<sup>2</sup> The feeling which prompted these early pilgrims to visit the Holy Land, and especially Jerusalem, has been happily caught by Keble, and faithfully expressed in the beautiful words :

'There is a spot within this sacred dale  
That felt Thee kneeling—touch'd Thy prostrate brow :  
One angel knows it. O might prayer avail  
To win that knowledge ! sure such holy vow  
Less quickly from th' unstable soul would fade,  
Offer'd where CHRIST in agony was laid.'<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxxxii. 7 (Septuagint).

<sup>2</sup> The translation given in Smith's 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' art. 'Pilgrimages,' has been adopted here.

<sup>3</sup> 'Christian Year' Monday before Easter.



Towards the close of the fourth century a change took place; pilgrimages became the fashion; and the men and women who, following the example of Paula, flocked to Jerusalem, appear, in the spirit of St. Thomas, to have required some visible and tangible evidence of our Lord's Passion to confirm their faith. For such persons the necessary aids to faith were provided in gradually increasing numbers, until, in the sixth century, we find not only the true cross, but the crown of thorns, the reed, the sponge, the lance, the cup used at the Last Supper, the stone that was rolled away from the sepulchre, and other relics of minor importance, such as the 'charger' in which John the Baptist's head was carried.<sup>1</sup>

After leaving Bordeaux, the Pilgrim followed a road, which lay to the south of the Garonne, to Toulouse; and it is interesting to notice that in this section of the journey the distances are given in leagues, from which it may perhaps be inferred that the Gallic league was still in common use in those parts of Gaul which lay beyond the limits of the old Roman province. At Narbonne he reached the great line of communication between Spain and Italy, and followed it thence to the first station out of Arles, where he turned aside, up the valley of the Rhone, to Valence, on the road from Vienne, over the Cottian Alps, to Milan. From Milan to Constantinople the 'Itinerary' agrees, except for a short distance, with the route laid down in the Antonine Itinerary (pp. 127-138 Wesseling). This route passed through Padua, Laybach, Pettau, Esseg, Belgrad, Nisch, Sophia, Philippopoli, Adrianople, and Eregli. The difference alluded to is in the section between Burdista (Mustafa Pasha Keupri) and Virgoli (Lule Bergas); the

<sup>1</sup> See the 'Breviarius de Hierosolyma' and the tracts of Theodosius and Antoninus Martyr.

Pilgrim omits Adrianople, and appears to have made an excursion northwards, from Burdista, to visit some unknown point of interest, but the text is in any case defective. (Note 2, p. 10.)

The route through Asia Minor, on which Professor Ramsay has kindly contributed a valuable memoir (App. I.), coincides generally 'with the military road, which was commonly used by the Byzantine armies in marching from Constantinople to Syria.' It passed through Ismid, Angora, Kiz Hissar, and the famed Cilician Gates to Tarsus, where 'the Apostle Paul was born;' and was thence continued through Adana, Alexandretta, and over the Beilan Pass to Antioch. From Antioch the 'Itinerary' crosses the mountains to Latakieh, and thence follows the regular coast road through Tartús, Tripoli, Beirút, Tyre, and Acre, to Cæsarea Palæstina. (Comp. 'Ant. Itin.,' pp. 147-150, Wess.) At the last-named place the Pilgrim notices 'the bath of Cornelius,' which was, perhaps, a public building given to the city by Cornelius, who appears to have been a wealthy man; that such gifts were occasionally made may be inferred from the case of the synagogue which was built by the centurion at Capernaum.

Instead of following the direct road from Cæsarea Palæstina to Jerusalem, the Pilgrim proceeded to Jezreel, and thence by Scythopolis (Bethshean) to Neapolis (Shechem). The object of this divergence is not explained, but it was, possibly, to complete the tour of places connected with the history of Elijah, whose remarkable character and whose reappearance with Moses on the Mount of Transfiguration seem to have made such a deep impression on the minds of the early Christians. In making this *détour* the Pilgrim passed within a day's journey of Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee, and it is very remarkable to find that a

man who had made the long journey from Bordeaux should omit all notice of, and apparently not care to visit, places so intimately connected with our Lord's early life and ministry. Perhaps the explanation must be sought in the fact that men, at that time, cared more about the resurrection and all that it implied, than they did about the localities in which Christ had passed His life on earth ; and that general interest in places like Nazareth and Capernaum was not aroused until Constantine had attracted attention to the Manger and the Tomb by erecting magnificent churches at Bethlehem and Jerusalem.

At Neapolis the Pilgrim visited Joseph's Tomb and Jacob's Well, which appear to have occupied then the positions now assigned to them ; and, like Eusebius, he makes a distinction between Neapolis, Sichem, and Sichar. From Neapolis he travelled along the well-known road by Bethel, where he dwells on the incidents connected with Jacob's vision, and the fate of the prophet who was beguiled by the false prophet, to Jerusalem.

The description of Jerusalem, though wanting in fulness, is of great interest. The writer commences with the northern end of the eastern hill, and then, in the most methodical manner, proceeds southwards ; crosses the valley, above Siloam, to the western hill ; returns northwards ; and finally passes out of the city by the east gate to visit the Mount of Olives and Bethany. The narrative is clear and connected ; and it is hardly possible, for anyone who knows the ground, to read it without feeling that the Pilgrim from Bordeaux actually saw Constantine's buildings standing on the site now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This is not the place to discuss the theory respecting Constantine's churches, which was for many years so ably advocated by the late Mr. James

Fergusson ; but it is quite impossible, as pointed out in Appendix V., to maintain the forced construction which he placed on the passage relating to them. Jerusalem in 333 A.D. could not have differed greatly from the Ælia of Hadrian ; and it is not unlikely that in several essential particulars, such as the direction of the main streets and the course of a large section of the city wall, modern Jerusalem represents the lines upon which Ælia was founded on the ruins of the old city destroyed by Titus. The two streets, running respectively south from the Damascus Gate, and east from the Jaffa Gate, which divide Jerusalem into four parts, evidently follow the lines of ancient streets ; and the same may be said of the street *El Wad*, and of the street leading from it to St. Stephen's Gate. If we suppose that the Pilgrim, on leaving Sion, passed along the street east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre towards the Damascus Gate, his narrative becomes quite clear.

The reasons for supposing that the Pool of Bethesda was situated near the north-west angle of the Haram area, and that it is now represented by the 'souterrains' connected with the Convent of the Sisters of Sion, are given in Appendix III. ; and some notes on the site assigned to Sion in the fourth century will be found in Appendix IV. The absence of any allusion in the narrative to what may be called the accessories of the Passion, excepting the Column of the Flagellation, has already been noticed (p. iii.) ; and attention may further be drawn to the small number of holy places connected with New Testament history which are mentioned. The list includes Bethesda ; the pinnacle of the Temple with its 'great corner-stone,' rejected of the builders ; Siloam ; the house of Caiaphas with the Column of the Flagella-

tion; the Prætorium of Pilate; the place of the Crucifixion; and the Tomb; and it omits places such as the Cœnaculum; the scene of St. Stephen's martyrdom; and the birthplace of the Virgin, which afterwards became widely celebrated. Beyond the limits of the city, to the east, the Pilgrim mentions the place of the betrayal (Gethsemane); the palm-tree from which branches were taken to spread in the way of Jesus (Matt. xxi. 8); the Mount of Olives on which Christ taught His disciples; the scene of the Transfiguration; and the Tomb of Lazarus at Bethany; but he makes no allusion to the Tomb of the Virgin, or to the connection of the Mount of Olives with the Ascension.

From Jerusalem the Pilgrim made two excursions; one to Jericho, the Dead Sea, and the spot where the Lord was baptized in Jordan; the other to Bethlehem, where Constantine's basilica had already been erected, and Hebron. He then proceeded by Nicopolis, Lydda, and Antipatris, to Cæsarea Palæstina. At Cæsarea there is a break in the 'Itinerary,' which is taken up again at Heraclea (*Eregli*); and we are left in doubt whether the Pilgrim retraced his steps through Asia Minor, or went by sea to Constantinople. The home journey from Heraclea calls for no remark; it was made through the provinces of Rhodope, Macedonia, and Epirus to Aulon (*Avlona*) on the Adriatic; thence by water to Otranto, and afterwards through Brindisi, Bari, Capua, Rome, Trevi, Rimini, Bologna, Parma, and Piacenza, to Milan. At Milan, where the homeward route joins that which had been described on the outward journey, the 'Itinerary' ends.

The known MSS. of the 'Itinerary' are: one of the eighth century in the library at Verona, distinguished as V.; one of the ninth century in the library at St. Gallen; and

one of the tenth century in the National Library at Paris, distinguished as P. The earliest printed edition was published in 1589, and there have been eleven subsequent editions; the best critical edition of the text is that published, with notes in German, by Dr. Tobler in 'Palæstinæ Descriptiones, ex sæc. iv., v., et vi.' It has not been considered advisable to add critical notes, in the English edition, to those portions of the 'Itinerary' which refer to countries beyond the limits of the Holy Land; but the names of the 'stations' are often corrupt,<sup>1</sup> and the forms generally used by classical writers have therefore been given with, in some cases, the modern names. The variations in the readings of the MSS. have been noted on each page.

The English translation has been specially made for the Pilgrim's Text Society by Aubrey Stewart, Esq., M.A. (late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge), from the text of the Société de l'Orient Latin by the kind permission of Cte. Riant. The translations in the appendices are also by Mr. Stewart.

C. W. W.

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<sup>1</sup> The classical forms must have been, nearly everywhere, in common use when the pilgrimage was made, but considerable changes had probably taken place by the eighth century, the date of the earliest MS., and the tendency of the transcribers would be to substitute the later forms where they were known to them.

NOTE.—Modern names are, as a rule, distinguished by italics. The references to the 'Antonine Itinerary' are to Wesseling's edition. References to the English edition of Antoninus Martyr, are shown thus: *Ant. Mart.* (E. E. p. 4); references to the original are to the chapters, *e.g.*, *Ant. Mart.*, xii.

P. F. Mem. = 'Memoirs to the Survey of Western Palestine,' published by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

P. F. Qy. Stat. = 'Quarterly Statements of the Palestine Exploration Fund.'

## AN ITINERARY.



AN Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem, and from Heraclea (*Eregli*) through Aulon (*Avlona*), and through the city of Rome to Milan. As follows:—

The city of Bordigala (*Bordeaux*), where is the river Garonne, in which the ocean ebbs and flows for one hundred leagues,<sup>1</sup> more or less.

	Leagues.
Change at Stomatæ ( <i>Castres</i> ) - -	vii
Change at Senone <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Sirio, Pont de Ciron</i> ) -	ix
City of Vasates <sup>3</sup> ( <i>Cossio, Bazas</i> ) - -	viii
Change at Three Trees - - -	v
Change at Oscineium ( <i>Houeilles</i> ?) - -	viii
Change at Scotium <sup>4</sup> ( <i>Sotium, Sos</i> )- -	viii
Town of Elusa <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Eauze</i> ) - - -	viii
Change at Vanesia - - -	xii
City of Auscius ( <i>Climberrum, Augusta Auscorum, Auch</i> ) - - -	viii
Change at the sixth league - - -	vi
Change at Hungunverrum <sup>6</sup> - - -	vii
Change at Buccones <sup>7</sup> ( <i>L'Isle en Fourdain</i> ?) -	vii
Change at the Temple of Jupiter - - -	vii
City of Tolosa ( <i>Toulouse</i> ) - - -	vii
Change at the ninth milestone - - -	ix

<sup>1</sup> The Gallic league was equal to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Roman miles.

<sup>2</sup> P. Mu. Sirione.

<sup>3</sup> P. Ci. Vasatas....ix.

<sup>4</sup> P. Mu. Scittio.

<sup>5</sup> V. Ci. Tolosa.

<sup>6</sup> V. Mu. Hungunerru.

<sup>7</sup> P. Mu. Bucconis.

	Miles.
Change at the twentieth milestone -	xi
Halt at Elusio <sup>1</sup> - - - -	ix
Change at Sostomagus ( <i>Castelnaudary</i> ?) -	ix
Town of Hebromagus <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Bram</i> )	x
Change at Cædri - - - -	vi
Fortress of Carcasso ( <i>Carcassonne</i> ) -	viii
Change at the three-hundredth milestone <sup>3</sup>	viii
Change at Hosuerbas <sup>4</sup> - - - -	xv
City of Narbo ( <i>Narbonne</i> ) - - - -	xv
City of Beterræ <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Bæterræ, Béziers</i> ) -	xvi
Halt at Cessaro ( <i>Cessero, Araura, St. Thibéry</i> ) - - - -	xii
Change at Forum Domiti - - - -	xviii
Change at Sustantio <sup>6</sup> ( <i>Sextantio, Soustantion</i> ) - - - -	xv
Change at Ambrosius <sup>7</sup> ( <i>Ambrussum</i> )	xv
City of Nemausus ( <i>Nîmes</i> ) -	xv
Change at Pons Herarus <sup>8</sup> ( <i>Ærarius, Bellegarde</i> ) - - - -	xvi
City of Arelate ( <i>Arles</i> ) - - - -	viii <sup>9</sup>
Total from <i>Bordeaux</i> to <i>Arles</i> 372 miles, 30 changes, 11 halting-places. <sup>10</sup>	

<sup>1</sup> *V. Ma.* Eleusione.<sup>2</sup> *V. Vi.* Ebromago.<sup>3</sup> *P.* Tricencimum. The correct reading is probably 'the thirtieth milestone,' the distance being reckoned from *Narbonne*; compare the stations before reaching Altinum and Aquileia, page 5, where the distances are also laid down for a traveller proceeding from *Rome* to the Provinces.<sup>4</sup> *V. Mu.* Husuerbas.<sup>5</sup> *P. Ci.* Biterris.<sup>6</sup> *P. Mu.* Sostancione...xvii.<sup>7</sup> *V. Mu.* Ambrosi.<sup>8</sup> *P. Mu.* Porte ærarium.<sup>9</sup> *V. ix.*<sup>10</sup> *P.* reads 371 miles. According to the text the distance from *Bordeaux* to *Toulouse* is 107 leagues, or 160½ miles, and thence to *Arles* 215 miles, making a total of 375½ miles from *Bordeaux* to *Arles*; if, however, we deduct four miles from the distance between *Nîmes* and *Arles*, which is much too high in the Itinerary, we get 371½ miles. The actual number of stations is 32, and the halting-places 12.



	Miles.
Change at Arnago <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Ernaginum, St. Gabriel</i> ) - - - -	viii
Change at Bellintum - - - -	x
City of Avinio <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Avenio, Avignon</i> ) - - - -	v
Change at Cephessata <sup>3</sup> - - - -	v
City of Arausio ( <i>Orange</i> ) - - - -	xv <sup>4</sup>
Change at Letoce <sup>5</sup> - - - -	xiii
Change at Novem Craris <sup>6</sup> - - - -	x
Halt at Acunum ( <i>Anconne</i> ) - - - -	xv <sup>7</sup>
Change at Vancianis <sup>8</sup> ( <i>Bancs</i> ) - - - -	xii
Change at Umbennum - - - -	xii <sup>9</sup>
City of Valentia ( <i>Valence</i> ) - - - -	ix
Change at Cerebelliaca - - - -	xii
Halt at Augusta ( <i>Aoust</i> ) - - - -	x
Change at Darentiaca - - - -	xii
City of Dea Vocontiorum <sup>10</sup> ( <i>Die</i> ) - - - -	xvi
Halt at Lucus ( <i>Luc</i> ) - - - -	xii
Change at Vologatis <sup>11</sup> ( <i>Vaugelas</i> ?) - - - -	ix

Here begins the Gaura Mountain.

Change at Cambonum ( <i>La Combe</i> ?) - - - -	viii
Halt at the Hill of Seleucus ( <i>Mont-Saléon</i> ) - - - -	viii
Change at Davianum ( <i>Veynes</i> ) - - - -	viii
Change at the frontier - - - -	xii
Halt at Vapincum ( <i>Gap</i> ) - - - -	xi
Halt at Catoricæ <sup>12</sup> ( <i>Caturigæ, Chorges</i> ) - - - -	xii
Halt at Ebrodunum <sup>13</sup> ( <i>Embrun</i> ) - - - -	xvi

Here begin the Cottian Alps.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. Mu. Arnagene...ix.

<sup>2</sup> P. Ci. Avenione.

<sup>3</sup> P. Mu. Cypressata.

<sup>4</sup> V. xiii.

<sup>5</sup> V. omits.

<sup>6</sup> V. Mu. Novencraes.

<sup>7</sup> V. x.

<sup>8</sup> V. Mu. Bantianis.

<sup>9</sup> V. omits xii.

<sup>10</sup> V. Ci. Deanocontinorum.

<sup>11</sup> V. Mu. Volocates.

<sup>12</sup> P. Ma. Catorigas.

<sup>13</sup> P. Ma. Hebriuno.

<sup>14</sup> V. A. Penninæ.

Change at Rame ( <i>Rame</i> )	-	-	Miles. xvii
Halt at Byrigantum <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Brigantium, Briançon</i> )			xvii

Here you ascend the Matrona<sup>2</sup> (*Mont Genève*).

Change at Gesdaona ( <i>Gesdaon, Sesanne</i> )	-	-	x
Halt at Temple of Mars	-	-	ix
City of Segussio <sup>3</sup> ( <i>Segusio, Susa</i> )	-	-	xvi

Here begins Italy.

Change at the twelfth milestone	-	-	xii
Halt at the frontier	-	-	xii
Change at the eighth milestone	-	-	viii
City of Taurini ( <i>Turin</i> )	-	-	viii
Change at the tenth milestone	-	-	x
Halt at Quadratae	-	-	xii
Change at Ceste	-	-	xi
Halt at Regomagus ( <i>Rigomagus, Rinco</i> )	-	-	viii
Change at Mediæ	-	-	x
Change at Cottiæ ( <i>Cozzo</i> )	-	-	xiii
Halt at Laumellum ( <i>Lomello</i> )	-	-	xii
Change at Duni <sup>4</sup> ( <i>Duriæ, Dorno</i> )	-	-	ix
City of Ticinum ( <i>Pavia</i> )	-	-	xii
Change at the tenth milestone	-	-	x
City of Mediolanum ( <i>Milan</i> )	-	-	x
Halt at Cold River <sup>5</sup>	-	-	xii

Total from *Arles* to *Milan* 475 miles,<sup>6</sup>

63 changes, 22 halting-places.

\* *V. Ma.* Byrigane.

<sup>2</sup> *V. Matroniam.*

<sup>3</sup> *V. Ci.* Segucio.

<sup>4</sup> *P. Mu.* Duriis.

<sup>5</sup> This station is superfluous in its present position, and has apparently been transferred by the copyist from its proper place before crossing the Julian Alps; see page 5.

<sup>6</sup> *P.* 375 miles. According to the text the distance is 486 miles; the number of stations, including *Milan*, 44; and the number of halting-places, excluding 'Cold River,' 21.

	Miles
Change at Argentia ( <i>Gorgonzola</i> ) - -	x
Change at Pons Aureolus ( <i>Pontirolo</i> ) - -	x
City of Bergamum <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Bergomum, Bergamo</i> )	xiii
Change at Tellegate <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Telgate</i> ) - -	xii
Change at Tetellus - - -	x
City of Brixia ( <i>Brixia, Brescia</i> ) - -	x
Halt at Flexus ( <i>Ponte S. Marco</i> ) - -	xi
Change at Beneventum <sup>3</sup> - - -	x
City of Verona ( <i>Verona</i> ) - - -	x
Change at Cadianum ( <i>Caldiero</i> ) - - -	x
Change at Aurei <sup>4</sup> - - -	x
City of Vincentia ( <i>Vicentia, Vicenza</i> ) - -	xi
Change at the frontier - - -	xi
City of Patavium ( <i>Padua</i> ) - - -	x
Change at the twelfth milestone <sup>5</sup> - - -	xii
Change at the ninth milestone - - -	xi
City of Altinum ( <i>Altino</i> ) - - -	ix <sup>6</sup>
Change at Sanus <sup>7</sup> - - -	x
City of Concordia ( <i>Concordia</i> ) - - -	ix <sup>8</sup>
Change at Picilia <sup>9</sup> - - -	ix
Change at the eleventh milestone - - -	x <sup>1</sup>
City of Aquileia ( <i>Aquileia</i> ) - -	xi
Total from <i>Milan</i> to <i>Aquileia</i> 251 miles, 24 changes, 9 halting-places. <sup>11</sup>	
Change at the eleventh milestone - - -	xi
Change at Fornolus - - -	xii
Change at the Camp <sup>12</sup> - - -	xii

<sup>1</sup> *P. Ci. Vergamo.*<sup>2</sup> *V. Mu. Tallegate.*<sup>3</sup> *V. Mu. Bene Aventum.*<sup>4</sup> *P. Mu. Auræos.*<sup>5</sup> *V. omits.*<sup>6</sup> *V. viii.*<sup>7</sup> *P. Mu. Sanos.*<sup>8</sup> *V. viii.*<sup>9</sup> *V. Mu. Pacilia.*<sup>10</sup> *V. xi.*<sup>11</sup> According to the text the distance is 229 miles, and there are only 22 stations, including *Aquileia*.<sup>12</sup> The *Antonine Itinerary* gives a station at 'Cold River,' on this

	Miles.
Here rise the Julian Alps.	
To Pirus upon the summit of the Alps -	ix <sup>1</sup>
Halt at Longaticum ( <i>Logatez</i> ) -	x
Change at the ninth milestone -	ix
City of Emona <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Æmona, Laybach</i> ) -	xiv
Change at the fourteenth milestone -	x
Halt at Hadrante <sup>3</sup> ( <i>Adrans, St. Oswald</i> )	xiii
Frontier of Italy. <sup>4</sup>	
Change at Mediæ -	xiii
City of Cælia <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Celeia, Cilly</i> ) -	xiii
Change at Lotodos -	xii
Halt at Ragendo ( <i>Ragando</i> ) -	xii
Change at Pultovia <sup>6</sup> -	xii
City of Petovio <sup>7</sup> ( <i>Pettau</i> ) -	xii
You cross the bridge, <sup>8</sup> and enter Lower Pannonia.	
Change at Ramista -	ix
Halt at Aqua viva -	ix
Change at Populi -	x
City of Jovia -	ix
Change at Sunista -	ix
Change at Peritur -	xii
Halt at Lentolæ <sup>9</sup> ( <i>Lentulæ, Berzentze</i> )	xii
Change at Cardonum -	x
Change at Cocconi <sup>10</sup> -	xii

road, 36 miles from Aquileia, which agrees nearly with the distance of 'the Camp,' and it seems probable that, the real station having been transferred as indicated in note 5, p. 4, another was inserted in its place.

<sup>1</sup> *V.* omits ix.      <sup>2</sup> *V.* Ci. Semona.      <sup>3</sup> *V.* omits.

<sup>4</sup> *P.* reads Finis Italie et Norici.      <sup>5</sup> *V.* Ci. Cæia.

<sup>6</sup> *V.* Mu. Poltovia...xvi.

<sup>7</sup> *V.* Ci. Potovione.

<sup>8</sup> Bridge over the Drave.

<sup>9</sup> *V.* Ma. Lertoles.

<sup>10</sup> *V.* Mu. Coccones.

Halt at Serota ( <i>Veröcse</i> )	-	Miles. x
Change at Bolentia		x
Halt at Mauriana (Mariniana)	-	ix

You enter Upper Pannonia.

Change at Serena	-	-	viii
Halt at Verei	-		x
Change at Jovalia <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Valpo</i> )	-		viii
Change at Mersella ( <i>Petrievece</i> )	-		viii
City of Mursa <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Esseg</i> )	-		x
Change at Leutuanum <sup>3</sup>	-	-	xii
City of Cibalæ <sup>4</sup> ( <i>Vincovce</i> )			xii
Change at Celena	-		xi
Halt at Ulmus	-		xi
Change at Spaneta	-		x
Change at Bedulia <sup>5</sup>	-		viii
City of Sirmium ( <i>Mitrowitzsa</i> )	-		viii

Total from *Aquileia* to *Mitrowitzsa* 412<sup>6</sup>  
miles, 17<sup>7</sup> halting-places, 39 changes.

Change at Fossi	-	-	ix
City of Bassiani	-	-	x
Change at Noviciani	-	-	xii
Change at Altina	-	-	xi
City of Singidunum ( <i>Belgrad</i> )	-	-	viii

Frontier of Pannonia and Mysia (Moesia).

Change at the sixth milestone	-	-	vi
Change at Tricornia Castra ( <i>Ritopek</i> )	-		vi
Change at the sixth milestone <sup>8</sup>	-	-	vii

<sup>1</sup> V. Mu. Iovenalia.      <sup>2</sup> V. Ci. Morsa.      <sup>3</sup> P. Mu. Leutuoano.

<sup>4</sup> V. Ci. Ciliciales.      <sup>5</sup> V. Mu. Vidunlia; *Parth.* Vedulia.

<sup>6</sup> The distance according to the text is 411 miles.

<sup>7</sup> The number of halting-places according to the text is 16.

<sup>8</sup> V. omits.

City of Aureus Mons	-	-	-	Miles. vi
Change at Vingeium <sup>1</sup> (Vinceia, <i>Semendria</i> )				vi
City of Margus	-	-	-	ix
City of Viminatium	-	-	-	x

Where Diocletian killed Carinus.

Change at the ninth milestone	-	-		ix
Halt at Municipium	-	-	-	ix
Change at Jovis Pagus ( <i>Glagowaz</i> ?)				x
Change at Bao	-	-	-	vii
Halt at Idomum (Idimus)	-	-	-	ix
Change at the eighth milestone	-	-		ix
Halt at Oromagus (Horreum Margi, <i>Tju-prija</i> ?)	-	-	-	viii

Frontier of Mysia (Moesia) and Dacia.<sup>2</sup>

Change at Sarmatæ <sup>3</sup> ( <i>Paratjin</i> )	-	-		xii
Change at Cametæ <sup>4</sup>	-	-	-	xi
Halt at Ipompei (Pompeii)	-	-	-	ix
Change at Rappiana <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Alexinatz</i> )	-	-		xii
City of Naissus ( <i>Nisch</i> )	-	-	-	xii
Change at Redices <sup>6</sup> ( <i>Banja</i> )	-	-	-	xii
Change at Ulmus	-	-	-	vii
Halt at Romansiana (Remesiana, <i>Ak Palanka</i> )	-	-	-	ix
Change at Latina	-	-	-	ix
Halt at Turres ( <i>Pirot</i> )	-	-	-	ix
Change at Translites	-	-	-	xii
Change at Ballanstra	-	-	-	x
Halt at Meldia	-	-	-	ix
Change at Scretesca	-	-	-	xii
City of Serdica ( <i>Sophia</i> )	-	-	-	xi

<sup>1</sup> V. Mu. Mingeio.

<sup>2</sup> V. omits.

<sup>3</sup> V. omits.

<sup>4</sup> V. Mu. Caminitas.

<sup>5</sup> V. Mu. Rampiana.

<sup>6</sup> V. omits.

Total from *Mitrowitza* to *Sophia* 314 miles,  
24 changes, 13 halts.<sup>1</sup>

Change at Extuomnes <sup>2</sup>	-	-	viii
Halt at Buracara <sup>3</sup> ( <i>Bagaraca</i> )	-	-	viii
Change at Sparata	-	-	viii
Halt at Hilica <sup>4</sup> ( <i>Ichtiman</i> )	-	-	x
Change at Soneium	-	-	ix

#### Frontier of Dacia and Thracia

Change at Pons Ucas <sup>5</sup>	-	-	vi
Halt at Bona Mansio	-	-	vi
Change at Alusor	-	-	ix
Halt at Bassapara <sup>6</sup> ( <i>Tatar Bazarjik</i> )			xii
Change at Tugugerum	-	-	ix
City of Philippopolis ( <i>Philippopoli</i> )	-		xii
Change at Sernota <sup>7</sup>	-	-	x
Change at Paramvole	-	-	viii
Halt at Cillium	-	-	xii
Change at Carassura	-	-	ix
Halt at Arzus ( <i>Arsus, Chaskeui</i> )	-	-	xi
Change at Palæ	-	-	vii
Halt at Castozobra ( <i>Subzopara, Castra Iarba, Harmanly</i> )	-	-	xi
Change at Rammes <sup>8</sup>	-	-	vii
Halt at Burdista <sup>9</sup> ( <i>Burdipta, Mustafa Pasha Keupri</i> )	-	-	xi
Change at Daphabe <sup>10</sup>	-	-	xi
Halt at Nice	-	-	ix

<sup>1</sup> According to the text the distance is 317 miles, and there are 34 changes and 14 halts.

<sup>2</sup> *V. Mu. Extuome.*

*P. Ma. Iliga.*

*Al. Ma. Basapare.*

<sup>8</sup> *P. Mu. Rhamis.*

<sup>10</sup> *V. Mu. Dapabe...x.*

<sup>3</sup> *P. Ma. Buragara.*

<sup>5</sup> *V. Mu. Ponte Ugas.*

<sup>7</sup> *P. Mu. Syrnota.*

<sup>9</sup> *V. Ma. Busdicta.*

	Miles.
Change at Tarpodizus <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Buyúk Derbend</i> ) -	x
Change at Urisium - -	vii
Halt at Virgoli <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Bergule, Lule Bergas</i> ) -	vii
Change at Narium -	viii
Halt at Drizupara <sup>3</sup> -	ix
Change at Tipsus - -	x <sup>4</sup>
Halt at Tunorullum <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Izirallum, Chorlu</i> )	xi
Change at Beodizum - -	viii <sup>6</sup>
City of Heraclea ( <i>Eregli</i> ) - - -	ix
Change at Braunne <sup>7</sup> -	xii
Halt at Salamembria <sup>8</sup> ( <i>Silivri</i> )	x
Change at Eallum <sup>9</sup> ( <i>Ialos</i> ) - -	x
Halt at Atyra <sup>10</sup> ( <i>Buyúk Chekmeje</i> )	x
Halt at Regio (Regium, <i>Kutchúk Chekmeje</i> )	xii
City of Constantinople - -	xii
Total from <i>Sophia</i> to <i>Constantinople</i> 413	
miles, 12 changes, 20 halts. <sup>11</sup>	
GRAND TOTAL FROM BORDEAUX TO	
CONSTANTINOPLE 2,221 MILES, 230	
CHANGES, 112 HALTS. <sup>12</sup>	

We also travelled (*ambulavimus*) in the consulate of Dalmatius and Zenophilus, leaving Chalcedonia on the

<sup>1</sup> *Al. Mu.* Arboditio, Arbodico.

<sup>2</sup> The text descriptive of the road between Burdista and Virgoli is evidently defective. According to the *Antonine Itinerary* (137), the distance between the two places along the direct road, which passes through Hadrianopolis, is 78 miles, whereas the text gives only 44 miles. Tarpodizus is on the road from Anchialus, *via* Ostodizus, to Virgoli, and is 68 miles from the latter place (*Ant. Itin.*, 230), whereas the text gives only 14 miles.

<sup>3</sup> *V. Ma.* Dritiopara.

<sup>4</sup> *V.* viii.

<sup>5</sup> *V. Ma.* Tunorollo...viii.

<sup>6</sup> *V.* ix.

<sup>7</sup> *P. Mu.* Baunne.

<sup>8</sup> *V. Ma.* Salambria.

<sup>9</sup> *Parth. Mu.* Callum.

<sup>10</sup> *V. Ma.* Alesra.

<sup>11</sup> According to the text the distance is 348 miles, and there are 37 changes and 18 halts.

<sup>12</sup> According to the numbers in the text the distance is 2,166 miles; the changes are 208, and the halts 90.



30th of May, and returned to Constantinople on the 25th of December in the same consulate.

From Constantinople you cross the strait, come to Chalcedonia, and travel through the province of Bithynia.

	Miles.
Change at Narses <sup>1</sup> - - -	vii
Halt at Pandicia ( <i>Pandik</i> ) -	vii
Change at Pontamus -	xiii
Halt at Libyssa <sup>2</sup> - - -	ix

Here lies King Annibalianus (Hannibal), who was once King of the Africans.

Change at Brunga <sup>3</sup> - -	xii
City of Nicomedia ( <i>Ismid</i> ) - -	xiii <sup>4</sup>

Total from *Constantinople* to *Ismid* 50 miles, 7 changes, 3 halts.<sup>5</sup>

Change at Egribolum <sup>6</sup> - -	x
Halt at Libum - -	xi <sup>7</sup>
Change at Liada -	xii
City of Nicia (Nicæa, <i>Isnik</i> ) -	ix <sup>8</sup>
Change at Schine <sup>9</sup> -	viii
Halt at Midus (Mœdos)	vii.
Change at Chogea <sup>10</sup> -	vi
Change at Thatesus - -	x
Change at Tutadus <sup>11</sup> (Tottaion, near <i>Geiveh</i> )	ix

<sup>1</sup> V. Mu. Narsite.

<sup>2</sup> V. Ma. Libosa. Annibalianus, whose name has been substituted for that of Hannibal, was brother of the Consul Dalmatius.

<sup>3</sup> P. Mu. Brunca.

<sup>4</sup> V. ix.

<sup>5</sup> According to the text the distance is 61 miles, and the changes are six.

<sup>6</sup> Al. Mu. Hiribolum. <sup>7</sup> V. x.

<sup>8</sup> P. viii.

<sup>9</sup> V. Mu. Schene. <sup>10</sup> V. Mu. Chogia. <sup>11</sup> P. Mu. Tutaio...viii.

Change at Protoniaca <sup>1</sup>	-	-	-	Miles, xi
Change at Artemis	-	-	-	xii
Halt at Dable <sup>2</sup> (Dablis, near <i>Tereklu</i> )	-	-	-	vi
Halt at Cerate	-	-	-	vi

Frontier of Bithynia and Galatia.

Change at the frontier <sup>3</sup>	-	-	-	x
Halt at Dadartanum (Dadastanum)	-	-	-	vi
Change at Trans Montem	-	-	-	vi
Change at Milia <sup>4</sup>	-	-	-	xi
City of Juliopolis (near <i>Nalli Khan</i> )	-	-	-	viii
Change at the river Hycron (River Siberis, <i>Ala Dagħ Sa</i> )	-	-	-	xiii
Halt at Agannia (Lagania)	-	-	-	xi
Change at Petrobroge <sup>5</sup> (Petobroge, <i>Bei</i> <i>Bazar</i> )	-	-	-	vi
Halt at Mnizos <sup>6</sup>	-	-	-	x
Change at Prasmon <sup>7</sup>	-	-	-	xii
Halt at Malogardis <sup>8</sup> (Manegordus)	-	-	-	ix
Change at Lake Cenaxis <sup>9</sup>	-	-	-	xiii
City of Anchira (Ancyra, <i>Angora</i> ) in Galatia	-	-	-	xiii <sup>10</sup>

Total from *Ismid* to *Angora* in Galatia 258  
miles, 16 changes,<sup>11</sup> 12 halts.<sup>12</sup>

Change at Delemnna (Delemnna)	-	-	x
Halt at Curveunta (Gorbeous)	-	-	xi

<sup>1</sup> *P. Mu. Protunica.*

<sup>2</sup> *V. Ma. Doble.*

<sup>3</sup> *P. Finis.*

<sup>4</sup> *V. Mu. Melia.*

<sup>5</sup> *Al. Mu. Ipetobrogen, Petrobogen.*

<sup>6</sup> *P. Ma. Innizos, V. Simonizous.*

<sup>7</sup> *V. Mu. Trasmon.*

<sup>8</sup> *P. omits.*

<sup>9</sup> *P. Cenaxempalidem.*

<sup>10</sup> *P. omits.*

<sup>11</sup> *P. Mut. xxvi.*

<sup>12</sup> According to the text the distance is 245 miles, and there are 11 halts.

	Miles.
Change at Rosolodiacum (Rosolatiacum, Orosologia) . . .	
Change at Aliassus <sup>1</sup> . . .	xiii
City of Aspona <sup>2</sup> . . .	xviii
Change at Galea . . .	xiii
Change at Andrapa . . .	ix

## Frontier of Galatia and Cappadocia.

Halt at Parnassus . . .	xiii
Halt at Iogola <sup>3</sup> (Ozizala) . . .	xvi
Halt at Nitalis . . .	xviii
Change at Argustana . . .	xiii
City of Colonia (Archelais, <i>Ak Serai</i> ?)	xvi <sup>4</sup>
Change at Momoasson <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Mammasın</i> ) . . .	xii
Halt at Anathiango <sup>6</sup> (Nazianzus, <i>Nenizi</i> )	xii
Change at Chusa . . .	xii
Halt at Sasima ( <i>Hassa Keui</i> ) . . .	xii
Halt at Andavilis <sup>7</sup> ( <i>Andaval</i> ) . . .	xvi

Here is the villa of Pampatus,<sup>8</sup> from which  
come the curule horses.

City of Thyana (Tyana, *Kiz Hissar*) . . . xviii<sup>9</sup>

Here was born Appollonius the magician.

City of Faustinopolis ( <i>Pashmakchi</i> ) . . .	xii <sup>10</sup>
Change at Cæna <sup>11</sup> . . .	xiii
Halt at Opodandum (Podandus, <i>Bozanti</i> ) . . .	xii
Change at Pylæ <sup>12</sup> ( <i>Ghulek Boghaz</i> , Cilician Gates) . . .	xiv

## Frontier of Cappadocia and Cilicia.

<sup>1</sup> *V.* Mu. Aliasum.

<sup>2</sup> *P.* Ci. Arpona.

<sup>3</sup> *V.* Ma. Iogula.

<sup>4</sup> *V.* xv.

<sup>5</sup> *V.* Mu. Mummoasum.

<sup>6</sup> *V.* Ma. Anachiango.

<sup>7</sup> *V.* Ma. Andaviles.

<sup>8</sup> *V.* Pammati.

<sup>9</sup> *P.* omits.

<sup>10</sup> *V.* x.

<sup>11</sup> *V.* Mu. Cona...ix.

<sup>12</sup> *V.* Mu. Pilas...xiii.

		Miles.
Halt at Mansucrine (Mopsucrene) -	-	xii
City of Tarsus in Cilicia <sup>1</sup> -	-	xii

Here was born the Apostle Paul.

Total from *Angora* in Galatia to *Tarsus*

343 miles, 25 changes, 18 halts.<sup>2</sup>

Change at Pargais <sup>3</sup>	-	xiii
City of Adana <sup>4</sup> ( <i>Adana</i> )	- -	xiv
City of Mansista (Mopsuestia, <i>Missis</i> )	-	xviii
Change at Tardequeia ( <i>Kürt Külak</i> )	-	xv
Halt at Catavolum (Castabala)	-	xvi
Halt at Baie (Baïæ, <i>Piyas</i> )	-	xvii
Halt at Alexandria Scabiosa ( <i>Iskanderûn</i> , <i>Alexandretta</i> )	- -	xvi
Change at Pictanus <sup>5</sup> ( <i>Beilan</i> )	-	ix

Frontier of Cilicia and Syria.

Halt at Pagrius <sup>6</sup> (Pagræ, <i>Begras</i> )	-	viii
City of Antiochia <sup>7</sup> ( <i>Antioch</i> , <i>Antakia</i> )	-	xvi

Total from *Tarsus* in Cilicia to *Antioch*

141 miles,<sup>8</sup> 10 changes, 7 halts.

To the palace of Daphne ( <i>Beit el Ma</i> )	-	v
Change at Hysdata <sup>9</sup>	-	xi
Halt at Platanus	- -	viii
Change at Bacchaia <sup>10</sup>	-	viii
Halt at Catelæ <sup>11</sup>	- -	xvi

<sup>1</sup> *P.* omits Cilicia.

<sup>2</sup> According to the text the distance is 319 miles, and there are 24 changes and 14 halts. For discussion of the route through Asia Minor, see Appendix I.

<sup>3</sup> *V. Mu.* Pargas.

<sup>4</sup> *V. Ci.* Gadana.

<sup>5</sup> *V. Mu.* Platanus.

<sup>6</sup> *P. Ma.* Pagrios.

<sup>7</sup> *V. Ci.* Anchiotia.

<sup>8</sup> According to the text the distance is 142 miles.

<sup>9</sup> *V. Mu.* Stadata.

<sup>10</sup> *V. Mu.* Baccaias.

<sup>11</sup> *P. Ma.* Cattelas.

	Miles.
City of Ladica <sup>1</sup> (Laodicea, <i>Latakiah</i> )	xvi
City of Gabala <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Jebeleh</i> ) - - -	xiv
City of Balaneas ( <i>Banias</i> ) - - -	xiii

## Frontier of Cœle Syria and Phœnicia.

Change at Maraccæ - - -	x
Halt at Antaradus ( <i>Tartûs</i> ) - - -	xvi

Here is a city in the sea, two miles from the shore.<sup>3</sup>

Change at Spiclis - - -	xii
Change at Basiliscum <sup>4</sup> - - -	xii
Halt at Arcæ (Arca, Cæsarea, 'Arka) -	viii
Change at Bruttus - - -	iv
City of Tripolis ( <i>Tarabulus</i> ) -	xii
Change at Triclis <sup>5</sup> - - -	xii
Change at Bruttus alius - - -	xii
Change at Alcobilis <sup>6</sup> - - -	xii
City of Berytus <sup>7</sup> ( <i>Beirût</i> ) - - -	xii
Change at Heldua <sup>8</sup> ( <i>Khan Khulda</i> ) -	xii
Change at Porphyriion <sup>9</sup> (Porphyreon)	viii
City of Sidon <sup>10</sup> ( <i>Saida</i> ) - - -	viii
Thence to Sarepta <sup>11</sup> - - -	ix

<sup>1</sup> V. Ci. Lasdeca.

<sup>2</sup> V. Ci. Gavalâ...xiii.

<sup>3</sup> The city of Aradus, of which ruins are still extant on the island of *Ruad*; see *P. F. Qy. Stat.*, 1875, 218-227.

<sup>4</sup> V. Mu. Baselisco.

<sup>5</sup> V. Mu. Treclas; *Part. et Pind.*, Tridis; the Trieris of *Ant. Mart.* (E. E. p. 2), now probably *Enfeh*.

<sup>6</sup> V. Mu. Alcovile.

<sup>7</sup> *Al. Berito*, Bireto.

<sup>8</sup> V. Mu. Eldua.

<sup>9</sup> *P. Mu. Parphirion*; *V. Parpinon*. Justinian built a church of the Virgin at *P.* (*Procop.* E. E. p. 150); the Crusaders identified *P.* with *Haifa*; *Ant. Mart.* (E. E. p. 4) with 'Athlît; it is now *Khan Neby Yunas*, eight miles N. of *Saida*.

<sup>10</sup> The distance between Berytus and Sidon, given here as 28 miles, is shown as 29 in *Tab. Paut.*, and 30 in *Itin. Ant.*

<sup>11</sup> About a mile from *Surafend*. See note, *Ant. Mart.*, (E. E. p. 3); *Part. et Pind.* omit this line.

	Miles.
Here Helias went up to the widow and begged food for himself.	
Change at 'ad Nonum' (at the ninth milestone ?) <sup>1</sup> - - - -	iv
City of Tyre ( <i>Sûr</i> ) - - - -	xii
Total from <i>Antioch</i> to <i>Tyre</i> 174 miles, 20 changes, 11 halts. <sup>2</sup>	
Change at Alexandroschene <sup>3</sup> - - - -	xii
Change at Ecdeppa <sup>4</sup> ( <i>Achzib, ez Zîb</i> ) - - - -	xii
City of Ptolemais ( <i>Accho, 'Akka, St. Jean d'Acre</i> - - - - -	ix <sup>5</sup>
Change at Calamon <sup>6</sup> - - - -	xii
Halt at Sycaminos ( <i>Sycaminon</i> ) <sup>7</sup> - - - -	iii
Here is the Mount Carmel, where Helias offered sacrifice.	
Change at Certa <sup>8</sup> - - - -	viii
Frontier of Syria, Phœnicia, <sup>9</sup> and Palestine.	
City of Cæsarea Palæstina <sup>10</sup> ( <i>Kaisariêh</i> ), that is, Judæa - - - -	viii

<sup>1</sup> Ad Nonum cannot mean here a station nine miles from Sarepta; it has generally been identified with 'Adlûn, and is probably a corrupt transcription of an old name (Adnûn?), of which 'Adlûn is the modern representative.

<sup>2</sup> According to the text the distance is 266 miles, and there are 25 changes and 11 halts.

<sup>3</sup> Now *Khurbet Iskanderûneh*; see *P. F. Mem.* I. 176.

<sup>4</sup> *V. Mu.* Hecdeppa.

<sup>5</sup> *P.* viii. This reading is probably correct, for it makes the total distance from Tyre to Ptolemais 32 miles, in accordance with *Itin. Ant.* and *Tab. Peut.* For a description of Acre see *P. F. Mem.* I. 160-167.

<sup>6</sup> *V. Mu.* Calomon; now *Tell es Semak*, or *Kefr es Samîr*; see note on Itinerary from Ptolemais to Cæsarea in Appendix II.

<sup>7</sup> *V. Ma.* Secaminus, *P.* Sicamenos; now *Haifa el 'Atîkah*.

<sup>8</sup> *V. Mu.* Cirtha, now 'Athlît.

<sup>9</sup> *P.* omits Phœnicia.

<sup>10</sup> *P.* reads vii., Cæsarea Palestina.

Total from *Tyre* to Cæsarea Palæstina  
(*Kaisariëh*) 73 miles, 2 changes, 3 halts.<sup>1</sup>

Here is the bath (balneus) of Cornelius the  
centurion who gave many alms.<sup>2</sup>

At the third milestone from thence is the  
mountain Syna, where there is a fountain,  
in which, if a woman bathes, she becomes  
pregnant.<sup>3</sup>

City of Maximianopolis	-	-	-	xviii <sup>4</sup>
City of Stradela <sup>5</sup>	-	.	-	x

Here reigned King Achab (Ahab), and here  
Helias prophesied. Here is the field in  
which David slew Goliath.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the text the distance is 64 miles, and there are 7 changes and 3 halts. There is a loss of distance between Ptolemais and Cæsarea, see Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome ('Sæ. Paulæ. Per.' v.) mentions the house of Cornelius, which was then a church. The bath may have been a public bath erected by Cornelius, at his own cost, for the people of Cæsarea.

<sup>3</sup> Mount Syna and the fountain are only mentioned in this Itinerary; the 'Mount' is probably the spur of Mount Carmel, N.E. of *Kaisariëh* and the village *Sindiðneh* upon it may have derived its name from the same source as Syna. There are two springs, 'Ain Ism'âin, and 'Ayûn Mâmâs at the foot of the spur, and of these the latter is the most important.

<sup>4</sup> *P.* reads xvii. Maximianopolis is identified by Jerome (*Com. in Zech.* xii. 11) with 'Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddo;' it is now *Rummâneh*, a small village, close to *T'annuk* (Taanach). The actual distance from Cæsarea is 19 Roman miles, and from Jezreel 8, which agrees with the total distance between Cæsarea and Stradela.

<sup>5</sup> *V. Ci. Istradela*; Latinised from 'Εσδράηλα, the Greek form of Jezreel; it is now *Zerîn*.

<sup>6</sup> This curious legend appears to have arisen from the fact that a great battle was fought here between the Israelites and the Philistines. It is only mentioned by the Bord. Pil.; and the site of the battle in which Goliath was killed is more correctly indicated by Ant. Mart. (E. E. note 2, p. 24.) The name 'Ain Jalûd, 'Goliath's spring,' applied to the large spring near *Zerîn* is possibly due to a confusion between Taluth and Jaluth, the Arab names of Saul and Goliath.

	City of Scythopolis (Bethshean, <i>Beisân</i> )	-	Miles. xii
	Aser, where was the house of Job	-	vi <sup>1</sup>
	City of Neapolis ( <i>Náblus</i> )	-	xv

Mount  
Gerizim.

Here is the Mount Gerizim.<sup>2</sup> Here the Samaritans say that Abraham offered sacrifice, and one reaches the top of the mountain by steps, three hundred in number.<sup>3</sup> Beyond this, at the foot of the mountain itself, is a place called Sichem.<sup>4</sup> Here is a tomb in which Joseph is laid, in the 'parcel of ground' (villa) which Jacob his father gave to him. From thence Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, was carried off by the children of the Amorites.<sup>5</sup> A mile from thence is a place named Sichar,<sup>6</sup> from which the woman of Samaria came down to the same place in which Jacob dug the well, to draw water from it, and our Lord Jesus Christ talked with her;<sup>7</sup> in which

Sichem.

<sup>1</sup> *V.* reads xvi; Aser, now *Teiâsir*; identified by Euseb. and Jerome with the Asher of Josh. xvii. 7, on the boundary of Manasseh. The house of Job is now the house of the prophet Tôba. See Appendix VI.

<sup>2</sup> *P.* reads Agazaren, evidently a corruption of Argarizim.

<sup>3</sup> There must be an error in the numbers here, for Gerizim is 1,174 feet above *Náblus*; or, perhaps, only part of the ascent was by steps.

<sup>4</sup> *V.* Sicem. Sichem appears to be identified here with the small village of *Balâta*, E. of *Náblus*, and near Jacob's well. <sup>5</sup> Gen. xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> *P.* Sechar; *V.* Sicar. Apparently the village of 'Askar. The Bordeaux Pilgrim makes a distinction between Neapolis, Sichem, and Sichar, and in this agrees with Eusebius (*Onom.* Sychar and Sychem). For discussion on the sites of these places see *Dict. of Bible*, Shechem and Sychar.

<sup>7</sup> John iv. 5-42. Eusebius (*Onom.*) mentions the well in connection with Sychar, and the tomb of Joseph in connection with Sychem; Jerome (*Onom.* and 'Sæ. Paulæ. Per.' xvi.) the well and a church; Theodosius (xxvii.) the well and tomb; Ant. Mart. (vi.) the well and



Miles.

place are plane-trees, which Jacob planted, and a bath (*balneus*) which is supplied with water from the well.

Twenty-eight miles from thence on the left hand, as one goes towards Jerusalem, is a village (*villa*) named Bethar.<sup>1</sup> A mile from thence is the place where Jacob slept when he was journeying into Mesopotamia, and here is the almond tree; here Jacob saw the vision and the angel wrestled with him.<sup>2</sup> Here was King Jeroboam when the prophet was sent to him, that he should turn himself to the Most High God; and the prophet was ordered not to eat bread with the false prophet whom the king had with him, and because he was beguiled by the false prophet and ate bread with him, as he was returning a lion fell upon the prophet on the way and slew him.<sup>3</sup>

Bethar.

Thence to Jerusalem - - - xii Jerusalem.

Total from Cæsarea Palæstina to Jerusalem 116 miles, 4 halts, 4 changes.<sup>4</sup>

There are in Jerusalem two large pools<sup>5</sup> (*piscinæ*) at the side of the temple (*ad latus templi*), that is, one upon the right

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church and Joseph's tomb (*xxx.*) at Hebron; Arculph. (ii. 19) and Willibald (*xxvii.*) mention the well and church.

<sup>1</sup> *V.* Betar. Bethel; the interchange of *r* and *l* is not uncommon, and the distance to Jerusalem, 12 miles, agrees with that given in the *Onom.*

<sup>2</sup> *Gen.* xxviii. 11-22.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xiii. 1-34.

<sup>4</sup> *V.* omits the 4 changes. The distance according to the text is 101 miles; and if we suppose a 'mutatio' between Neapolis and Bethar, the total number of changes is 8, as in the text.

<sup>5</sup> For discussion on the site of these pools see Appendix III.

Bethesda.

hand, and one upon the left, which were made by Solomon; and further in the city are twin pools (*piscinæ gemellares*), with five porticoes, which are called Bethesda.<sup>1</sup> There persons who have been sick for many years are cured; the pools contain water which is red when it is disturbed. There is also here a crypt, in which Solomon used to torture devils.<sup>2</sup> Here is also the corner of an exceeding high tower,<sup>3</sup> where our Lord ascended and the tempter said to Him, 'If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down from hence.' And the Lord answered, 'Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but him only shalt thou serve.' There is a great corner-stone,<sup>4</sup> of which it was said,

The Corner Stone.

<sup>1</sup> *P. Betsaida; V. Veitaida.* See Appendix III.

<sup>2</sup> This tradition is mentioned only by the Bordeaux Pilgrim; there is no clue to the position of the crypt, but it may perhaps be the aqueduct running south from the twin pools.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. iv. 5; Luke iv. 9. The corner tower or pinnacle of the Temple is alluded to by Eucherius (v.); and by Theodosius (ix.), who mentions in connection with it a church (*basilica in cruce posita*), and the martyrdom of St. James. It is also mentioned, with 'the corner-stone,' by Prudentius as quoted by Wesseling (590):

'Excidio templi veteris stat pinna superstes:  
Structus enim lapide ex illo manet angulus usque  
In seclum secli, quem sprerunt ædificantes;  
Nunc caput est templi, et lapidum compago novorum.'

The south-east angle of the Haram area appears to be the place alluded to; Tobler, however, identifies it with the so-called 'Tower of Antonia,' at the north-east angle ('Pal. Des. ex. Sæc.' iv. v. *et* vi., p. 68), and his suggestion receives some support from the close vicinity of the pool '*Birket Israil*,' where the fullers at whose hands St. James received his martyrdom may have been at work.

<sup>4</sup> If the pinnacle was at the south-east angle of the Haram, the 'corner-stone' must have been the corner-stone of the 'Great Course, which weighs over 100 tons, and is the heaviest stone yet found in the Haram wall (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 121).

'The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner.' Under the pinnacle (pinna) of the tower are many rooms, and here was Solomon's palace.<sup>1</sup> There also is the chamber in which he sate and wrote the (Book of) Wisdom; this chamber is covered with a single stone.<sup>2</sup> There are also large subterranean reservoirs for water and pools constructed with great labour.<sup>3</sup> And in the building (in æde) itself,<sup>4</sup> where stood the temple which Solomon built, they say that the blood of Zacharias<sup>5</sup> which was shed upon the stone pavement before the altar remains to this day. There are also to be seen the marks of the nails in the shoes of the soldiers who slew him, throughout the whole enclosure, so plain that you would think they were impressed upon wax.<sup>6</sup> There are two

Solomon's  
Palace.

Pools.

Altar.

<sup>1</sup> This probably alludes to chambers in the tower itself, as the vaults at the south-east angle of the Haram area had not then been built. The tradition that Solomon's palace was situated here has been adopted by Sir C. Warren and the late Mr. James Fergusson.

<sup>2</sup> This tradition is mentioned only by the Bordeaux Pilgrim; it may have been the small chamber roofed by a single stone in the east wall of the Haram, near the south-east angle.

<sup>3</sup> The numerous large cisterns excavated in the rock in the Haram area.

<sup>4</sup> 'In æde' may mean 'in the (temple) court'; if a building is intended, it was, perhaps, the temple of Jupiter, which, according to Dion Cassius, was erected by Hadrian on the site of the Jewish Temple.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21; Matt. xxiii. 35. According to Jerome (*Com. in Matt.* xxiv.), red stones said to be stained with the blood of Zacharias were shown between the ruins of the Temple and the altar; or in the outlets of the gates which lead to Siloam. In the *Brev. de Hiero.*, the altar at which Zacharias was slain is said to be before the 'Sepulchrum Domini,' and apparently in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

<sup>6</sup> What these marks were is unknown.

Hadrian's  
Statues.

statues of Hadrian,<sup>1</sup> and not far from the statues there is a perforated stone, to which the Jews come every year and anoint it, bewail themselves with groans, rend their garments, and so depart.<sup>2</sup> There also is the house of Hezekiah King of Judah.<sup>3</sup> Also as you come out of Jerusalem to go up Mount Sion,<sup>4</sup> on the left hand, below in the valley, beside the wall, is a pool which is called Siloe and has four porticoes<sup>5</sup>; and there is

Sion.

Siloe.

<sup>1</sup> Jerome states (*Com. in Matt.* xxiv. 15) that there was, in his day, an equestrian statue of Hadrian on the site of the Holy of Holies; and (*Com. in Is.* ii. 9) that a statue of Hadrian, and an idol of Jupiter, were erected on the site of the Temple. The well-known inscription on a stone in the south wall of the Haram area probably belonged to one of the statues of Hadrian; and a head of the Emperor was found by Mons. Clermont-Ganneau (*P. F. Qy. Stat.*, 1874, 207-210).

<sup>2</sup> The perforated stone (*lapis pertusus*) is only mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim; it has been suggested that this stone may have been the 'stone of foundation,' *aven sheteyah*, and identical with the *sakhrah* in the Dome of the Rock; but there is no clue to its position except that it was near the statues of Hadrian, and probably, therefore, within the limits of the Jewish Temple. After the suppression of the revolt, during the reign of Hadrian, the Jews were forbidden all approach to Jerusalem, and this prohibition remained in force until the reign of Constantine; for Eusebius states (*Theoph.*) that they were not allowed to set foot in the city, or view it even from a distance. The law must have been revoked soon after Constantine's accession as sole Emperor in 324 A.D., for the Pilgrim (333 A.D.) mentions the visit of the Jews as an annual custom. The Jews now wail every Friday at the well-known Jews' wailing-place, outside the Temple enclosure.

<sup>3</sup> Jerome (*Com. in Is.* xxxviii.) alludes to the 'steps of the house of Hezekiah,' as existing in the Temple enclosure, but the place has not been identified.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix IV.

<sup>5</sup> It is uncertain whether the wall mentioned in this passage is the city wall or not; if, as is not unlikely, the walls of Hadrian followed nearly the line of the present walls, the wall of the Pilgrim may have

another large pool outside it. This spring runs for six days and nights, but on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, it does not run at all, either by day or by night. On this side one goes up Sion,<sup>1</sup> and sees where the house of Caiaphas the priest was, and there still stands a column against which Christ was beaten with rods.<sup>2</sup> Within, however, inside the wall of Sion, is seen the place where was David's palace.<sup>3</sup> Of seven synagogues which once were there, one alone remains; the rest are ploughed over and sown upon, as said Isaiah the prophet.<sup>4</sup>

House of  
Caiaphas.

Palace of  
David.  
Syna-  
gogues.

From thence as you go out of the wall of Sion, as you walk towards the gate of Neapolis, towards the right, below in the valley, are walls, where was the house or prætorium of Pontius Pilate.<sup>5</sup> Here our Lord was tried before His passion. On the left hand is the little hill of Golgotha where the Lord was crucified. About a

Gate of  
Neapolis.

Prætorium.

Golgotha.

been a fragment of the ancient wall of the city, afterwards rebuilt by the Empress Eudocia (*Ant. Mart.* xxv.). A wall is mentioned in connection with the pool of Siloam by *Euch.* (vii.) and *Theod.* (xxv.) The pool with the four porticoes is the modern pool of Siloam; the 'large pool outside it,' now almost filled with earth and rubbish, is called *Birket el Hamra*. The porticoes surrounded the pool, one on each side, and traces of them have been found by recent excavation. See Appendix III.

<sup>1</sup> Or, 'thence by the same way one goes up Sion.' See Appendix IV.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ant. Mart.* (E. E.) Appendix II., 'The Holy Places on Mount Sion,' etc.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Tower of David,' near the Jaffa Gate. Cf. *Ant. Mart.* xxi.

<sup>4</sup> The prophecy is in Micah iii. 12; the Pilgrim's reference appears to be to Is. i. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix V.

Vault of  
the Lord.

Constantine's  
Basilica.

stone's throw from thence is a vault (crypta) wherein His body was laid, and rose again on the third day. There, at present, by the command of the Emperor Constantine, has been built a basilica, that is to say, a church of wondrous beauty, having at the side reservoirs (exceptoria) from which water is raised, and a bath behind in which infants are washed (baptized).

Also as one goes from Jerusalem to the gate which is to the eastward, in order to ascend the Mount of Olives, is the valley called that of Josaphat. Towards the left, where are vineyards, is a stone at the place where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ;<sup>1</sup> on the right is a palm-tree, branches of which the children carried off and strewed in the way when Christ came. Not far from thence, about a stone's-throw, are two notable (monubiles) tombs of wondrous beauty; in the one, which is a true monolith, lies Isaiah the prophet, and in the other Hezekiah, King of the Jews.<sup>2</sup>

Tombs of  
Isaiah and  
Hezekiah,

From thence you ascend to the Mount of Olives, where before the Passion, the Lord taught His disciples. There by the orders of Constantine a basilica of

<sup>1</sup> Compare the later tradition in *Ant. Mart.* (xvii.), where 'an olive grove, and the fig-tree on which Judas hanged himself,' are mentioned in the vicinity of the 'beautiful gate,' now the Golden Gate.

<sup>2</sup> The tomb of Isaiah is now the tomb of Zechariah (2 Chron. xxiv. 20) or of Zacharias (Matt. xxiii. 35); the tomb of Hezekiah is the so-called tomb of Absalom. Both monuments are on the left bank of the Kedron valley, at the foot of the Mount of Olives.

Miles.

wondrous beauty has been built.<sup>1</sup> Not far from thence is the little hill which the Lord ascended to pray, when he took Peter and John with Him, and Moses and Elias were beheld.<sup>2</sup> A mile and a half to the eastward is the village (villa) called Bethany. There is a vault (crypta) in which Lazarus, whom the Lord raised, was laid.

From Jerusalem to Jericho - - xviii Jericho.

On the right hand side, as one descends from the mount, behind a tomb, is the sycamore tree into which Zacchæus climbed that he might see Christ. A mile-and-a-half from the town is the fountain of Elisha.<sup>3</sup> Formerly if any woman drank of it she did not bear children. Beside it lies an earthenware vessel. Elisha threw salt into it, and came and stood over the fountain and said, 'Thus saith the Lord, I have cleansed these waters, and if any woman drink of this fountain she shall bear children.'

Sycamore  
of Zac-  
chæus.

Fountain of  
Elisha.

Above the same fountain is the house of the harlot Rahab, to whom the spies came, and she hid them, and alone was

House of  
Rahab.

<sup>1</sup> It would appear from Eusebius (*Dem. Evang.* vi. 18 and *Vit. Const.* iii. 41-43) that the church was built in memory of the Ascension over the cave in which Christ taught His disciples.

<sup>2</sup> The Pilgrim here transfers the scene of the Transfiguration from the north of Palestine to Olivet; the 'little hill' is perhaps the slight elevation on the ridge of Olivet, known afterwards as 'Galilee,' to the north of the village, and Mosque of the Ascension.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ain es Sultân. See *Ant. Mart.* xiii.

Miles.

	saved when Jericho was destroyed. Here stood the city of Jericho, round whose walls the children of Israel circled with the Ark of the Covenant, and the walls fell down <sup>1</sup> . Nothing is to be seen of it except the place where the Ark of the Covenant stood, and the twelve stones which the children of Israel brought out of Jordan. There Jesus, the son of Nave (Joshua the son of Nun), circumcised the children of Israel and buried their fore-skins. <sup>2</sup>	
Gilgal.		
Dead Sea.	From Jericho to the Dead sea - -	ix
	The water of it is very bitter, and in it there is no kind of fish whatever, nor any vessel ; and if a man casts himself into it in order to swim, the water turns him over. <sup>3</sup> From thence to the Jordan, where the Lord was baptized by John <sup>4</sup> -	v
Jordan.	There is a place by the river, a little hill upon the further (left) bank, from which Elijah was caught up into heaven. <sup>5</sup>	
	From Jerusalem going to Bethlehem -	vi
	On the road, on the right hand, is a tomb,	

<sup>1</sup> Josh. vi.<sup>2</sup> The 'twelve stones' were set up at Gilgal (Josh. iv. 20), and the children of Israel were circumcised at the same place (Josh. v. 7-10) ; the Pilgrim appears to localise the two events at Jericho.<sup>3</sup> The Pilgrim here accurately describes the result of trying to swim in the very buoyant waters of the Dead Sea ; there is a constant tendency to turn over.<sup>4</sup> Near *Kusr el Yehûd*; see *Ant. Mart.* (E. E.), App. I. 'The Holy Places on and near the Jordan.'<sup>5</sup> See note 4.



			Miles.
in which lies Rachel, the wife of Jacob. Two miles from thence, on the left hand, is Bethlehem, where our Lord Jesus Christ was born. A basilica has been built there by the orders of Constantine. Not far from thence is the tomb of Ezekiel, Asaph, Job, Jesse, David, and Solomon, whose names are inscribed in Hebrew letters upon the wall as you go down into the vault itself. <sup>1</sup>			Tombs of the Kings
From thence to Bethasora <sup>2</sup>	-	-	xiv
There is the fountain in which Philip baptized the eunuch.			Bethasora, Fountain of Philip.
Thence to Terebinthus <sup>3</sup>	-	-	viii
Here Abraham dwelt, and dug a well under a terebinth tree, and spoke with angels, and ate food with them.			Abraham's Well.
Here a basilica of wondrous beauty has been built by the command of Constantine.			
From Terebinthus to Hebron	-	-	ii
Here is a monument (memoria) of square form built of stone of wondrous beauty, in which lie Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sara, Rebecca, and Leah. <sup>4</sup>			Tomb of Abraham and of others.

<sup>1</sup> Comp. *Ant. Mart.* xxix., where the tombs of David and Solomon are mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *V. Bettasora. Bethzur, Beit Sûr.*

<sup>3</sup> *P. and V. Therebintus.* Probably the ruin known as *Râmet el Khulîl*; no certain trace has yet been found of the basilica mentioned by the Pilgrim. A description of the ruin, and discussion on the site will be found in *P. F. Mem.* III., 316 and 322.

<sup>4</sup> The Haram enclosure at Hebron; a description of this building is given by Capt. Conder in *P. F. Mem.* III. 333-346.

			Miles.
From Jerusalem as follows :			
City of Nicopolis (' <i>Amwās</i> )	-	-	xxii
City of Lydda ( <i>Lidd</i> )	-	-	x
Change at Antipatris <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Rās el 'Ain</i> )	-	-	x
Change at Betthar <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Tîreh</i> )	-	-	x
City of Cæsarea <sup>3</sup> ( <i>Kaisarîeh</i> )	-	-	xvi

TOTAL FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO JERUSALEM 1,159 MILES, 69 CHANGES, 58 HALTS.<sup>4</sup>

Also through Nicopolis ('*Amwās*) to Cæsarea (*Kaisarîeh*) 73 miles, 5 changes, 3 halts.<sup>5</sup>

Also from Heraclea (*Eregli*) through Macedonia.

Change at Erea (Heræum)	-	-	xvi
Halt at Registus (Resistus, Bisanthe, <i>Rodosto</i> )	-	-	xii
Change at Bedizum (Beodizum)	-	-	xii
City of Apri ( <i>Ainajik</i> )	-	-	xii
Change at Zesutera	-	-	xii

Frontier of Europe and Rhodope.

Halt at Sirogelli (Syracellæ, <i>Malgara</i> )	-	-	x
Change at Drippa	-	-	xiv

<sup>1</sup> For discussion on site of Antipatris, see *P. F. Mem.* II., 258-262.

<sup>2</sup> *V. Mu. Bettarum*. The distance from Diospolis (Lydda) is given as xxii. in the *Ant. Itin.*

<sup>3</sup> The *Itinerary* from Cæsarea to Tarracina is wanting in *V.* The *Ant. Itin.* gives xviii. as the distance between Betthar and Cæsarea. The Pilgrim perhaps went by sea from Cæsarea to Heraclea.

<sup>4</sup> According to the text the distance is 1,198 miles, the number of changes 96, and the number of halts 53.

<sup>5</sup> According to the text the distance is 68 miles.

	Miles.
Halt at Gypsela (Cypsela, <i>Ipsala</i> ) -	xii
Change at Demas (Dymæ, <i>Kaladerkos</i> )	xii
City of Trajanopolis - -	xiii
Change at Unimpara (Tempyra) - -	viii
Change at Salei -	vii
Change at Melalicum (Milolitus) - -	viii
Halt at Berozicha (Brendice, Brizice)	xv
Change at Breierophara -	x
City of Maximianopolis (Porsulæ, Pyrsoalis, Impara, <i>near Gumuljina</i> ) - -	x
Change at Dio(medes's) stables ( <i>Buru Kaleh</i> ) - - -	xii
Change at Rumbodona ( <i>Kurusu Yenijeh</i> )	x
City of Epirus (Topiris, <i>Karaguz</i> ) - -	x
Change at Purdi ( <i>Sarichoban</i> ) - -	viii

Frontier of Rhodope and Macedonia.

Halt at Hercontroma (Acontisma) -	ix
Change at Neapolis ( <i>Kavala</i> ) - -	ix
City of Philippi (Crenides, <i>Filibeh</i> )	x

Here Paul and Silas were imprisoned.

Change at the twelfth milestone -	xii
Halt at Domeros ( <i>Pervista</i> ) - -	vii
City of Amphipolis ( <i>Yeni Keui</i> ) - -	xiii
Change at Pennana - -	x
Change at Euripides (Arethusa, <i>Vrasta</i> ) -	x

Here is buried the poet Euripides.

Halt at Appollonia ( <i>Polina</i> ) - -	xi
Change at Heracleustibus (Heracleus Stibos) - - -	xi
Change at Duodea - -	xiv
City of Thessalonica ( <i>Saloniki</i> ) -	xiii
Change at the tenth milestone - -	x

	Miles.
Change at the Bridge (over the Axius, <i>Wardar Su</i> ) - - -	x
City of Pella ( <i>Ala Kilisseh, Yenikeui</i> ), whence came Alexander the Great of Macedonia - - -	x
Change at Scurio (Cyrius, Cyrrhus, <i>Palæo</i> <i>Kastro?</i> ) - - -	xv
City of Edessa <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Vodena</i> ) - - -	xv
Change at the twelfth milestone ( <i>Ostrovo</i> ) -	xii
Halt at Cellis - - -	xvi
Change at Grande ( <i>Florina</i> ) - - -	xiv
Change at Melitonus ( <i>Dragosch</i> ) - - -	xiv
City of Heraclea (Heraclea Lyncestis, <i>Toli</i> <i>Monastir</i> ) - - -	xiii
Change at Parambole (Castra, Nicia)	xii
Change at Brucida (Brucias, Brygias) -	xix

Frontier of Macedonia and Epirus.

City of Cleto (Lychnidus, <i>Ochrida</i> ) -	xiii
Change at Patræ - - -	xii
Halt at Claudanon (Claudanum, <i>Kükëseh</i> )	iv
Change at Tabernæ (Tres Tabernæ, <i>Juru</i> )	ix
Halt at Grandavia (Diana Candavia) -	ix
Change at the crossing (of the Genusus, <i>Sakumbi Su</i> ) - - -	ix
Halt at Hiscampis (Scampæ, <i>El Bassan</i> ) -	ix
Change at the fifth milestone - - -	vi
Halt at Coladiana (Clodiana, on the <i>Devol</i> <i>Su</i> ) - - -	xv
Halt at Marusium - - -	xiii
Halt at Absos (on the Apous, <i>Usumi Su</i> )	xiv
Change at Stephanaphana ( <i>Dukanasi</i> ) -	xii

<sup>1</sup> *Al Edissa.*

City of Apollonia ( <i>Polina</i> )	-	Miles. xviii
Change at Stephana ( <i>Goritz</i> )		xii
Halt at Aulon ( <i>Avlona</i> ). Sea passage		xii
Total from Heraclea ( <i>Eregli</i> ) through Macedonia to Aulon ( <i>Avlona</i> ) 688 miles, 58 changes, 25 halts. <sup>1</sup>		

Crossing the sea, a thousand stadia, which makes a hundred miles, you come to Hydruntum<sup>2</sup> (Hydruntum, *Otranto*), and halt a mile farther.

Change at the twelfth milestone	-	xiii
Halt at Clipeæ ( <i>Lupia</i> , <i>Lecce</i> )		xii
Change at Valentia ( <i>Baletium</i> , <i>Baleso</i> )		xiii
City of Brindisium ( <i>Brundisium</i> , <i>Brindisi</i> )		xi
Halt at Spilenees ( <i>Speluncæ</i> )	-	xiv
Change at the tenth milestone ( <i>Pto. Villa Nova</i> )	- - -	xi
City of Leonatia ( <i>Gnatia</i> , <i>Egnatia</i> , <i>Agnazzo</i> )		x
Change at Turres Aurilianæ ( <i>San Vito</i> )	-	xv
Change at Turres Julianæ		ix
City of Beroes ( <i>Barium</i> , <i>Bari</i> )		xi
Change at Butontones ( <i>Butuntum</i> , <i>Bitonto</i> )		xi
City of Rubi ( <i>Ruvo</i> )	- - -	xi
Change at the fifteenth milestone		xv
City of Canusium ( <i>Canosa</i> )	-	xv
Change at the eleventh milestone	-	xi
City of Serdonis ( <i>Herdonea</i> , <i>Ordona</i> )		xv
City of Æcæ ( <i>Troja</i> )	- - -	xviii
Change at Aquilo	- -	x

<sup>1</sup> According to the text the number of miles is 679 ; and there are 59 changes, and 27 halts.

<sup>2</sup> *Al Odronto*.

	Miles.
Frontier of Apulia and Campania.	
Halt at Equus Magnus (Equus Tuticus, S. Eleuterio) - - -	viii
Change at the village of Fornum Novum (Forum Novum, <i>Buonalbergo</i> )	xii
City of Beneventum ( <i>Benevento</i> ) -	x
City and halt at Claudii (Caudium, <i>Casta Cauda</i> ) - - -	xii
Change at Novæ - -	ix
City of Capua ( <i>Capua</i> ) - - -	xii
Total from Aulon ( <i>Avlona</i> ) to Capua 289 miles, 25 changes, 13 halts. <sup>1</sup>	
Change at the eighth milestone - -	viii
Change at Pons Campanus (over the <i>Savone</i> River) - -	ix
City of Sinuessa (Sinuessa, <i>Mondragone</i> ) -	ix
City of Minturnæ (Minturnæ, on the Liris)	ix
City of Formi ( <i>Mola di Gæta</i> ) -	ix
City of Fundi ( <i>Fondi</i> ) - -	xii
City of Tarracina ( <i>Terracina</i> ) -	xiii
Change at Mediæ ( <i>Posta di Mesa</i> ) -	x
Change at Forum Appi ( <i>Foro Appio</i> ) -	ix <sup>2</sup>
Change at Sponsæ -	vii
City of Aricia ( <i>La Riccia</i> ) and Albana (Albanum, <i>Albano</i> ) - - -	xiv
Change at the ninth milestone <sup>3</sup> - -	vii
To the city of Rome - - -	ix

<sup>1</sup> The distance, 289 miles, is correct, if the sea passage of 100 miles is not counted; there are, according to the text, 14 halts.

<sup>2</sup> *V. viii.*

<sup>3</sup> *V. Ionum.*

Total from Capua to the city of Rome Miles  
 136 miles, 14 changes, 9 halts.<sup>1</sup>

TOTAL FROM HERACLEA (*Eregli*)  
 THROUGH AULON (*Avlona*) TO THE  
 CITY OF ROME 1,113<sup>2</sup> MILES, 117<sup>3</sup>  
 CHANGES, 46 HALTS.<sup>4</sup>

To the City of Mediolanum (*Milan*).

Change at Rubræ (Saxa Rubra, <i>Prima Porta</i> )	ix
Change at the twentieth milestone -	xi
Change at Aqua Viva -	xii
City of Utriculo, <sup>5</sup> halt ( <i>Otriculum, Otricoli</i> ) -	xii
City of Narnia ( <i>Narni</i> ) -	xii
City of Interamna ( <i>Terni</i> ) -	viii <sup>6</sup>
Change at Tres Tabernæ <sup>7</sup> -	iii
Change at Fanum Fugitivi <sup>8</sup> ( <i>La Somma</i> ) -	x
City of Spolitio ( <i>Spoletium, Spoleto</i> )	vii
Change at Sacraría ( <i>Clitumnus, Le Vene</i> )	viii
City of Trevi <sup>9</sup> ( <i>Trebia, Trevi</i> ) -	iv
City of Fulgini ( <i>Fulginium, Foligno</i> ) -	v
City of Forum Flamini (-nii, <i>S. Giovanni pro Fiamma</i> ) -	iii

<sup>1</sup> According to the text the distance is 125 miles, and there are 13 changes, and 7 halts.

<sup>2</sup> *P.* 1,117 miles. According to the text the distance is 1,093 miles, whilst the summaries of the three itineraries give 1,113 miles.

<sup>3</sup> The number of changes according to the text and the summaries is 97.

<sup>4</sup> The text gives 48, and the summaries 47 halts.

<sup>5</sup> *Al.* Utriculo, Hericulo.

<sup>6</sup> *P. et P.* viii.

<sup>7</sup> *V.* Tærnis.

<sup>8</sup> *V.* Fugenii.

<sup>9</sup> *V.* Tranes.

	Miles
City of Nocerina (Nucerina, <i>Nocera</i> ) -	xii
City of Ptania (Tadinum, <i>Gualdo Tadino</i> )	viii
Halt at Herbellum <sup>1</sup> (Helvillum <i>Sigillo</i> ) -	vii
Change at Hesis <sup>2</sup> ( <i>Æsis</i> , <i>Scheggia</i> ) -	x
Change at Cale <sup>3</sup> (Cales, <i>Cagli</i> ) - -	xiv
Change at Intercisa (Petra Pertusa, <i>Passo del Furlo</i> ) - - -	ix
City of Forum Semproni (-nii, <i>Fossombrone</i> )	ix
Change at the eighth milestone -	ix
City of Fanum Fortunæ ( <i>Fano</i> ) - -	viii
City of Pisaurum ( <i>Pesaro</i> ) -	xxiv
..... to Rimini <sup>5</sup> (Ariminum, <i>Rimini</i> )	
Change at Conpetus (Ad Confluentes, <i>Savignano</i> ) -	xii
City of Cesena (Cæsena, <i>Cesena</i> ) - - -	vi
City of Forum Populi <sup>6</sup> (Forum Popilii, <i>Forlimpopoli</i> ) - -	vi
City of Forum Livi <sup>7</sup> (F. Livii, <i>Forlì</i> ) -	vi
City of Faventia ( <i>Faenza</i> ) - - -	v
City of Forum Corneli (F. Cornelii, <i>Imola</i> )	x
City of Claternum (Claterna, <i>S. Nicolo</i> ) -	xiii
City of Bononia ( <i>Bologna</i> ) -	x
Change at Mediæ - - -	xv
Change at Victoriolæ - - -	x
City of Mutena (Mutina, <i>Modena</i> ) - -	iii
Change at the bridge over the Secia ( <i>Tresinaro</i> ) - - - -	v
City of Regio (Regium Lepidum, <i>Reggio</i> )	viii
Change at Canneto (Tannetum, <i>Tanneto</i> )	x
City of Parma ( <i>Parma</i> ) - - -	viii

<sup>1</sup> *Al.* Erbello, Herbelloni.<sup>2</sup> *V.* Adesse.<sup>3</sup> *P.* Cale, *V.* Caloe.<sup>4</sup> *P.* omits xxiv.<sup>5</sup> *P.* Ariminum,<sup>6</sup> *V.* Foropuli.<sup>7</sup> *V.* Liti.



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		Miles
Change at the river Tarus ( <i>Taro</i> )	-	vii
Halt at Fidentia <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Borgo San Donnino</i> )	-	viii
Change at Fonticuli ( <i>Alla Fontana</i> )	-	viii
City of Placentia ( <i>Piacenza</i> )	-	xiii
Change at Rota ( <i>Quodrata</i> )	-	xi
Change at Tres Tabernæ	-	v
City of Laude (Laus Pompeia, <i>Lodi Vecchio</i> )	-	ix <sup>2</sup>
Change at the ninth milestone	-	vii
City of Mediolanum ( <i>Milan</i> )	-	vii

Sum total from the city of Rome to Mediolanum (*Milan*) 416 miles, 42 changes, 24 halts.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *V.* Sidencie.

<sup>2</sup> *V.* viii.

<sup>3</sup> *V.* 491 miles, 44 changes, and 34 halts. According to the text there are 416 miles, 48 changes, and 28 halts.

## APPENDIX I.

*Note on the route through Asia Minor, by Professor W. M. Ramsay, M.A.*

THE general route followed by the Bordeaux Pilgrim between Constantinople and Ancyra is determined by the known points Nicomedia (Ismid), Nicæa (Isnik), and the crossing of the river Siberis, but the actual sites of the different towns on the route remain to be determined by a careful examination and survey of the whole route. The route generally coincides with the military road, which was commonly used by the Byzantine armies in marching from Constantinople to Syria.

Between Constantinople and Nicomedia (Ismid) the Pilgrim's route follows the direct road to the East. Pandicia retains its name under the form Pandik. At Nicomedia, instead of following the straight road along the Sabandja lake to Geiveh, the Pilgrim makes a detour to visit Nicæa (Isnik). The *Antonine Itinerary*, in this route, makes the same detour (p. 140). From Nicæa the pilgrim probably rejoined the main road to the East by the shortest path: if so, he would go to Geiveh. Tottaion, which is called by Hierocles *rege-tataion* (i.e. *regio Tataion*), must be on the Sangarius near Geiveh, and Midus or Mædos must be situated on the road at the proper distance from Nicæa. Dablis, the next important station, was doubtless near Terekliü, as indicated on Kiepert's map. Thus far the

evidence of the Bordeaux Pilgrim has agreed very well with the *Antonine Itinerary*; but in the next stage there is a serious contradiction :

<i>Pilgrim.</i>		<i>Anton. Itin.</i>
Dablis -		- Dablis
Cerate, 6	-	
Frontier of Galatia, 10		- Cenon Gallicanon, 18
Dadastanum, 6	-	- Dadastanum, 21

Considering the distance on the map, we have little doubt that the Pilgrim omits a *mutatio* between the frontier and Dadastanum. The site of this city must be sought about the place where Kiepert places the name on his map. Juliopolis was certainly situated near the point where the road crosses a river a little to the west of Nalli Khan. About ten miles further to the east the road crosses the river Siberis (called by Pliny Hierus, and by the Pilgrim Hycronpotamon), called on Kiepert's map Ala Dagh Su.

Half-way between this river and Bei Bazar, the site of Lagania, called in Byzantine times Anastasiopolis, must be looked for. The little *mutatio* called Petobroge, which bears a Gallic name like Eccobriga, ~~Allobroges~~ or Allobriges, etc., has now become the chief town of the district, Bei Bazar.

Mnizos was apparently situated near where the road crosses the Emir Tchai. Malogardis, or, according to the more probable form of the *Antonine Itinerary*, Manegordus, was in all probability situated near Gelendos about midway between Mnizos and Ancyra: inscriptions have been found there. Lake Cenaxis should be easily found.

The course of the road beyond Ancyra is very uncertain. The position of Colonia Archelais at or near Ak Serai would give a clue to the general direction, but this position is not universally accepted and has never been positively proved. It is not therefore till we come to Tyana, the

modern Kiz Hissar, that we find a certain and positively proved point on the course of the road. Between Ancyra and Tyana there are three possible routes: two of these imply that Colonia Archelais was, as Leake first argued, near Ak Serai, while the third requires Archelais to be placed very much further to the east. The three routes are as follows: (1) the shortest practicable path from Ancyra to Ak Serai by Kotch Hissar; (2) a path which follows the course of the Halys as closely as possible; (3) the modern road from Ancyra to Kir Sheher, and thence south by Yarapsun and Nev Sheher to Nigde. The first of these routes is generally favoured by modern geographers, and is supported by the high authority of Kiepert: the third is advocated by Mordtmann and others: the second has, so far as I know, not been adopted by any modern authority; but I feel confident, for reasons which could only be given in a general survey of Cappadocian topography, that it is the true one.

In determining the course of this road, it is a most important consideration that the road from Ancyra to Cæsareia coincided with the road to Archelais as far as Parnassos. Mordtmann's view, which places Parnassos at Kir Sheher, fulfils this condition admirably; whereas it cannot be supposed that Kotch Hissar, where Kiepert places Parnassos, could ever have lain on the direct road from Ancyra to Cæsareia. The situation of Parnassos, therefore, where the roads fork, is the critical point in this question.

If we place Parnassos at Kir Sheher, its actual distance from Ancyra agrees with the ancient authorities, but the road onwards to Tyana can hardly be reconciled with them. If we place Parnassos at Kotch Hissar, the actual distances to Ancyra and to Ak Serai are both decidedly less than the ancient estimates.

I would look for Parnassos on the Halys, not very far from the modern bridge, called Kessik Keupreu, where the direct road from Ak Serai to Kir Sheher crosses the river. From Parnassos the road to Cæsareia followed the Halys, passing by Nyssa, which was on the river, while the road to Archelais turned away to the south. Holding as I do that Ak Serai is near the site of Archelais (which may, I think, be proved from the Byzantine historian Ducas), I must suppose that the route makes a slight detour in order to include Archelais. The Bordeaux Pilgrim and the *Antonine Itinerary* agree in placing Archelais on the main-road. But we have already seen that these authorities agree in a long detour from the straight road by way of Nicæa, and we shall see that neither of them gives the straight path across Cilicia.

No modern traveller has yet traced the course of the Halys above and below Kessik Keupreu; and the stations between Ancyra and Parnassos are therefore quite uncertain. The true name of the first station out of Ancyra, Delemnica, is given in an inscription recently published (*Archæologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1885, p. 115). The second should, on the authority of Strabo, be written Gorbeous (accusative Gorbeounta). It should be looked for on the easy road between Agaboz (Aboz) and Mohan Göl. The third is given as Orosologia in Ptolemy, and Rosolatiaco in the *Antonine Itinerary*. Andrappa was probably situated on the Halys, near Tchikinal, and Aliassus, Aspona, and Galea are to be looked for on the road between Agaboz and Tchikinal. I have seen a Roman roadway close to the west of Agaboz. Galea should perhaps be written Gadea (in Greek ΓΑΔΕΑ and ΓΑΔΕΑ), and identified with the Gadiana of Ptolemy and the Kadena of Strabo: while Andrappa is in all probability the same as Ptolemy's Andraca. In that case wo

must consider that Ptolemy and Strabo placed the Galatian frontier ten to fifteen miles further north than the Bordeaux Pilgrim does.

The first station south of Parnassos has been much corrupted in the *Itineraries*. The true name is Ozizala, and it was the birthplace of St. Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium in the latter part of the fourth century. The direct road from Nazianzos to Parnassos passed through it, and the estate which belonged to the family of St. Amphilochius and which was named Euphemias, was situated in the territory of Ozizala. It was situated in a dry district, and not on the Halys. Nitalis, which is more probably the true form than Nitazo, and Argustana are unknown. Momoassos is certainly the same place as Ptolemy's Nanessos: and the modern name, Mammasun, of a village two or three hours east of Ak Serai, shows that the first form is nearer the truth than the second. Nazianzos, the modern Nenizi, has been corrupted to Anathiango: and Carbala, a village in the territory of Nazianzos, where the family of St. Gregory Nazianzenus had an estate, has retained its name as Gelvere, a village about six miles south of Nenizi, inhabited only by Greeks. Chusa, a probably corrupt form, is never mentioned elsewhere. Sasima, where St. Gregory Nazianzenus was bishop, is the modern Hassa Keui, and Andavilis is the modern Andaval.

South of Tyana there is only one route possible: Faustropolis is near Pashmakchi, and Podandos retains its name under the form Bozanti, while the name Cæna occurs only in this one place. Mansucrine is a corruption of Mopsucrene<sup>1</sup> (Μόψου Κρήνη: it is mentioned by Anna Comnena as the first station out of Tarsus). There is here a gap in the *Antonine Itinerary*, which has hitherto coincided with the Pilgrim: there can be little doubt however that the gap is

<sup>1</sup> Μαμψουκρήνη is a common Byzantine form.

due to the omission of Mopsuestia following almost immediately after Mopsucrene. Between Mopsucrene and Mopsuestia the Pilgrim's route and presumably also the *Antonine Itinerary* diverge once more from the direct road in order to include the important city of Tarsus.

At Mopsuestia (*Μόψου'Εστία*), the modern Missis on the Sarus, the road as described in the *Antonine Itinerary* diverges from the Pilgrim's route. The latter goes straight across the plain to Castabala (misspelt Catabolo), which was situated near the head of the gulf of Issus, while the former takes a circuitous route by *Ægæ* (now Ayash) near the mouth of the Sarus, and thence skirts the coast of the gulf to Castabala. At *Baiæ*, the modern Payas, the extreme point of Cilicia is reached.

N.B. As I have never traversed any part of this route, I can only put down the notes which should guide the traveller who would make a systematic exploration of the Pilgrim's road.

W. M. R.

## APPENDIX II.

THE section of the *Itinerary* between Ptolemais and Cæsarea presents several difficulties, owing to the corrupt nature of the text. There appears to have been an interchange of place between Calamon and Sycaminon; and a station seems to have been lost, for the total distance is thirty-seven Roman miles, instead of thirty-one, as given in the text.

Calamon was the station of a cohort of Roman knights, and of some native mounted archers; hence it has been identified with the *Castra* of the Talmud, a place, not far from Hepha (*Haifa*), which was inhabited by Minim, or pagans. Captain Conder further identifies it with the 'castra Samaritanorum' of *Ant. Mart.* (iii.) and the modern *Kefr es Samîr*. In *Les Chemins de Jérusalem*, by Ishak Chelo (1333 A.D.), it is stated that people went by sea from Cæsarea to Kalamûn, and thence to Kaifah (*Haifa*); this would lead to the inference that Calamon was on the sea-coast, and in this case it must have been at *Tell es Semak*, a position that answers to that of the 'Castra S.' of Antoninus, which was one mile from Sycaminon. On the other hand the name *Kalamûn*, though not known now, appears on the maps of Jacotin, Berghaus, and Robinson, near *Kefr es Samîr*. *Tell es Semak* (mound of the fish) may perhaps be the Porphyryon of *Ant. Mart.* iii., a town identified by the Crusaders with *Haifa*.



Sycaminon is alluded to by Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 12, § 3) as the place where Ptolemy Lathyrus landed an army of 30,000 men to attack Ptolemais; and Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) mention that in their day it was called Hepha (*Haifa*). It is now, probably, *Haifa el 'Attkah*, between *Râs el Kerûm* and *Haifa*, the most favourable point on the coast for the disembarkation of a large army; the rival site *Tell es Semak* is completely exposed to winds from all quarters except the east, and so not a suitable landing-place. *Haifa el Attkah* is exactly twelve Roman miles from *Acre* (Ptolemais), the distance given in the *Itinerary* to Calamon.

Certa or Cirtha has been identified by most commentators with 'Athlît, afterwards the Castellum Peregrinorum of the Crusaders. 'Athlît, however, is fifteen Roman miles from Cæsarea, instead of eight, as in the *Itinerary*, and it is proposed to meet this difficulty by supposing that a number has dropped out opposite the 'Frontier of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine.' The southern boundary of Phœnicia is said by Ptolemy to have been the river Chorseus, between Dor and Cæsarea, now probably the *Nahr Dufleh*, or *Karâjeh*, whose mouth is six and a half Roman miles from *Kaisarteh*, and one from *Tantûrah* (Dor). In the *Tab. Peut.* a river, apparently a boundary, is shown falling into the sea immediately south of Dora, eight miles from Cæsarea. Pliny, on the other hand, calls the river Crocodilon, now the *Nahr Zerka*, the southern boundary of Phœnicia; this river, which may be compared with the Shihor Libnath of Josh. xix. 26 (see *Reland*, 289), is about two miles from *Kaisarteh*.

The distances given in the *Itinerary* and the sites have been discussed by M. Ganneau (*Bull. de la Soc. d. Géo* 1875); by Captain Conder (*P. F. Qy. Stats.*, 1876, pp. 20, 21, and 1877, pp. 187-190); and by M. Guérin,

(*Samarie*, ii. 251-259, and 274-276). The general conclusions arrived at will appear from the following tables :

<i>Itin. Hie.</i>		<i>Itin. Ant.</i>		<i>Identifications proposed.</i>
Ptolemais		Ptolemais - - - -	-	Acre
Calamon	xii	- - - -	-	Tell es Semak (Guérin), Kefr es Samîr (Conder), near Kefr es Sa- mîr (Ganneau)
Sycaminon	iii	Sycaminon -	xxiv - -	Haifa (Ganneau, Guérin), Tell es Semak (Conder)
Mount Carmel		- - - -	- - - -	
Certa -	viii	- - - -	-	'Athlît
Fines -	-		- - -	Nahr Dufleh
Cæsarea	<u>viii</u>	Cæsarea	- <u>xx</u> -	Kaisariêh
Total	xxxii		xliv	

*Proposed reconstruction of Itinerary.*

*Measured distances.*  
Roman Miles.

Ptolemais -		Acre - - -	
Sycaminon -	xii	Haifa el 'Atikah	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
Calamon -	ii or iv <sup>1</sup>	Tell es Semak -	2
Mons Carmelus		Kefr es Samîr -	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Certa	viii or vi <sup>1</sup>	'Athlît -	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Fines Syriæ	viii	Nahr Dufleh -	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Cæsarea	<u>vii</u>	Kaisariêh - - -	<u>6 <math>\frac{1}{2}</math></u>
Total -	xxxvii	Total - - -	37

<sup>1</sup> According to the identification of Calamon with *Tell es Semak*, or *Kefr es Samîr*.

### APPENDIX III.

THE questions connected with the Pool of Bethesda are of so much general interest that it has been considered desirable to treat them at some length.

*The Name.*—(1) In the Authorised Version (John v. 2) the pool is said to have been called in Hebrew, Bethesda (Βηθεσδα), as if 'house (place) of mercy,' or perhaps, as suggested by Reland (856), the 'place of the pouring forth' of water.<sup>1</sup> This reading is supported by the high authority of the best known Syriac text, the Peshito; it has also respectable support in MSS. and Versions, and internal evidence pleads strongly for it. The complete absence of any allusion in non-Christian writers to such a pool makes it very likely that its name is an invention of the Evangelist, and, if so, Bethesda was the one likely name for him to choose (Späth., *Protestn. Bibel ad Joann.*, v. 2). The weight of MS. authority is, however, undoubtedly against the reading Bethesda; and the Revised Version gives, in the margin, the alternative readings Bethsaida and Beth-zatha.

(2) The reading Bethsaida, (Βηθσαιδα) 'a fishing place,' is supported by the Vatican and Vulgate texts, and by the Syriac Version revised by Thomas of Harkel (616 A.D.); it is also the form used by the Pilgrim of Bordeaux. This

<sup>1</sup> With this may be compared the Arabic *Beit el Ma*, 'place of water'—a name applied to springs near Antioch, and at *Nâblus*.

name, however, which might naturally be given to a town on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, is scarcely applicable to an open reservoir crowded with bathers.

(3) The reading Bethzatha (Βηθζαθά), 'place of olives,' is supported by the high authority of the Sinaitic text, and it is the form used by Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* (*S. V.* Βηζαθά), where a θ has dropped out. The Belzetha (Βελζεθα) of the Cod. Bez. is also a corruption of the same word.

(4). The name Bezetha (Βεζεθα), by which Josephus distinguishes the hill north of the Temple, is merely a different form of Bethzatha (Βηθζαθά);<sup>1</sup> and it may be suggested as possible that the pool derived its name from the hill, and was known as the 'Pool of Bethzatha' (Bezetha). In connection with this suggestion it may be remarked that the 'Pool of Siloam' is supposed to have been so named from the rock-hewn channel which conveyed to it the waters of the Fountain of the Virgin.

(5). In John v. 2 (R.V.) the Pool of Bethesda is said to have been 'by the sheep-gate,' where the word 'gate' is supplied. Eusebius, however, in the *Onomasticon* calls Bethesda 'the sheep-pool,' and all other writers follow him. Chrysostom, quoting John v. 2, reads προβατικὴ κολυμβήθρα, 'sheep-pool;' and this agrees with the reading of the Sinaitic Version, as well as with that of the Vulgate, '*probatica piscina*;' see also Athan., Cyril, etc., as quoted below.

*Notices in Early Writers.*—'Now there is in Jerusalem

<sup>1</sup> In the LXX. we occasionally meet with Beth (Βεθ) instead of Βαιθ, or Βηθ, as in Βεθγεδὼρ (Vat.), 1 Chron. ii. 51; Βεθσοὺρ (Alex.), Josh. xv. 58, etc. The θ also sometimes disappears as in Βαιφαλάθ (Vat.), Josh. xv. 27, and Βαιμών (Vat.), Jer. xlviii. 23; and in Syriac and Chaldee the final 'th' may be and is dropped. No importance therefore attaches to the substitution of ε for η, or to the disappearance of the θ; and so far as reasons of language go, Βεζεθα, Βηζαθα, Βηθζαθα, etc., may be different forms of the same word.

by the sheep-gate a pool, which is called in Hebrew Bethesda, having five porches (στοάι). In these lay a multitude of them that were sick, blind, halt, withered. [Waiting for the moving of the water, for an angel of the Lord went down at certain seasons into the pool, and troubled the water : whosoever then first after the troubling of the water stepped in was made whole, with whatsoever disease he was holden.] And a certain man was there . . . I have no man, when the water is troubled, to put me into the pool.'—John v. 2-7 (R.V.).

Bethesda 'a pool (κολυμβήθρα) in Jerusalem, which is the sheep-pool, formerly having five porches. It is now identified with the twin pools (ἐν ταῖς λίμναις διδύμοις), of which one is supplied by the periodic rains, whilst the water of the other is of a ruddy colour—a trace, they say, of the carcasses of the sacrifices<sup>2</sup> which were formerly cleansed in it before offering; whence also it was called προβατική, 'sheep-pool.'—Euseb., *Onom.* (S.V. Βηζαθά); 330 A.D.

'There was at Jerusalem a sheep-pool, which is still in existence; it had five porches (στοάι), but the structures surrounding it are now destroyed.'—Athanasius (?), *De Semente*; Migne, xxviii. 164; 320 A.D. (?)

'Further in the city are twin pools (piscinæ gemellares), with five porticoes, which are called Bethsaida. There persons who have been sick for many years are cured; the pools contain water which is red when it is disturbed.'—*Itin. Hieros.*; 333 A.D.

'The sheep-pool (προβατική κολυμβήθρα) was in Jerusalem it had five porches (στοάι), four surrounding it, and one in the middle' (τέσσαρας μὲν περιτρεχούσας, μέσσην δὲ τὴν πέμπτην).—Cyril of Jerus., *Hom. in Par.*, § 2; Migne, xxxiii. 1133 370 A.D.

'There is in Jerusalem a sheep-pool (προβ. κολ.) . . . .'

<sup>1</sup> In the margin only.

<sup>2</sup> Lit., of the 'victims.'

John v. 2, as quoted by Chrysostom, *In Joan.*; Migne, lix. 203. This reading agrees with the Sinaitic Version and the Vulgate.

Jerome (*Onom.*) agrees with Eusebius as quoted above; 420 A.D.

'The pool which was once called sheep-pool.'—Cyril Alex., *In Joan.*, lib. 12; Migne, lxxiv. 636; 430 A.D.

'Bethesda is visible and remarkable by its double pool (gemino lacu); the one is commonly filled by the winter showers; the other is distinguished by its red waters.'—Eucherius, *De Loc. Sanct.*; 440 A.D.

'From the house of Pilate to the sheep-pool (piscina probatica) is more or less one hundred paces. There Christ cured the paralytic, whose bed is still there. Near the sheep-pool (or "in the sheep-pool" according to some MSS.), where the sick wash and are healed, is a church of the Blessed Virgin.'—Theod., *De Terr. Sanct.*, viii.; 530 A.D.

'Returning to the city (from Aceldama), we came to a swimming-pool (piscina natatoria) which has five porticoes, and in one of them is the Basilica of St. Mary, in which many miracles are wrought. The pool itself is now choked with filth, and therein are washed all the necessary utensils of the city. We saw in a dark corner an iron chain with which the unhappy Judas hanged himself.'—Ant. Mart., xxvii.; 570 A.D.

'I enter the holy Probatika (προβατικὴ ἀγία) where the illustrious Anna brought forth Mary.'—Sophr.; *Anac.*, xx., Migne., lxxxvii. 3. p. 3821. In the same place the paralytic was cured, *l. c.*, p. 3823; 630 A.D.

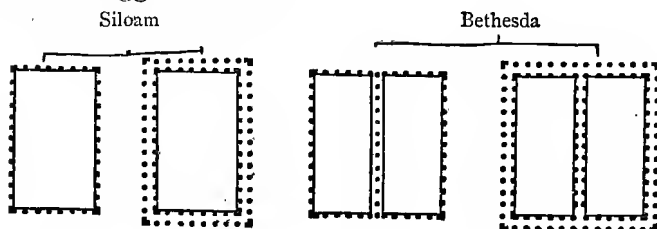
'Unto us is born, in the holy Probatika (ἐν ἀγίᾳ προβατικῇ), the mother of God,' etc.—Joan. Dam., *In nat. B. V. Mar.*; Migne, xcvi. 669. See also the curious apostrophe to the Probatika (*l. c.*, p. 677) and *De Fide Orth.*, lib. iv.; Migne, xciv. 1157; 730 A.D.

From the church of St. Sion, in the middle of Jerusalem, Willibald went 'to the porch of Solomon, where is the pool where the infirm wait for the motion of the water, when the angel comes to move it; and then he who first enters it is healed. Here our Lord said to the paralytic, "Rise, take up thy bed and walk."'—Will., *Hod.* xix.; 726 A.D.

A church of St. Mary, in the Probatica, where she was born (*Commém.* circ. 808 A.D.). The tract *Qualiter sita est Civ. Jerusalem*, supposed to have been written before the First Crusade, places the sheep-pool east of the *templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock) and outside the gate of the Atrium, which appears to have been conterminous with the Haram Area.

*Nature of the Pool.*—The Greek word *κολυμβήθρα*, 'a swimming-bath,' translated 'pool' in John v. 2, is used in John ix. 7-11 for the 'pool' of Siloam; and in Josephus for the pools Struthion and Amygdalon (*B. J.*, v. 11, § 4) and the pool of Solomon (*B. J.*, v. 4, § 2); its equivalent in Latin is *Piscina*. These swimming baths, pools, or reservoirs were, as a rule, rectangular in form, and open to the air; and they were often surrounded by columns, or by porticoes (*στοάι*) in which the bathers undressed themselves, and lounged before or after bathing. Siloam is said, by the Bordeaux Pilgrim to have had four such porticoes, and remains of them have been found by excavation at the modern pool of that name. The Roman bath (*piscina*) at Bath, seems to have had similar porticoes, and its appearance when perfect must have been not unlike that of the Pool of Siloam. Bethesda had five porches, or porticoes, and much ingenuity has been expended on their arrangement. The explanation is very simple when it is remembered that Bethesda was a *double* pool: there was a portico on each of the four sides, and the fifth, as stated by Cyril of Jerusalem, was in the middle between the

two pools. It may be inferred from this arrangement that the twin pools were on the same level, close to each other, and not of any very great size. The porticoes of the pools of Siloam and Bethesda may have been on some such plan as those suggested below :



*Position of Bethesda.*—The Bible narrative indicates that Bethesda was in Jerusalem, and that it was an open reservoir having five porticoes. In the fourth century Eusebius, who gives no indication of position, speaks of the porticoes as having formerly existed; and the tract '*De Semente*' expressly states that they had been destroyed. Eusebius, moreover, says that the *πολυμνήθρα* was then identified with the twin *λίμναι*, as if some change had taken place in the character of the reservoir; and it may be remarked that Eucherius uses the word *lacus* instead of the usual *piscina*. The Bordeaux Pilgrim tells us that Bethesda was more within the city than two large pools, at the side of (in the vicinity of) the Temple, which have generally been identified with the *Birket Israil*, and the pool that formerly existed near the Church of St. Anne. In the sixth century Theodosius says that the pool was about 100 paces from the house of Pilate, which he and Antoninus identify with a Church of St. Sophia, apparently not far from, if it be not the same as, the 'Dome of the Rock.'

The general tenor of these accounts seems to indicate that Bethesda was identical with the twin pools now known as the 'Souterrains' of the Convent of the Sisters of Zion.



We have here two pools cut in the rock, side by side with a partition five feet wide between them, and covered by vaults. The total length is 165 feet, and the breadth 48 feet, and a never-failing supply of water enters at the north-west corner. The pools are peculiarly situated in what must have been the rock-hewn ditch between Bezetha and the fortress of Antonia; and this may have led to the name 'Pool of Bezetha or Bethzatha,' as suggested above (p. 46); their position with regard to the Temple would also have been convenient for washing the 'victims' offered on the altar.<sup>1</sup> The source from which the pools derived their supply of water is unknown, but an aqueduct has been found running into the western pool from the north; and there may also have been one of those 'drifts' or rock-hewn tunnels for the collection of water, of which there is an example in the Wady Biyar, near Solomon's Pools. Water running into the pool from such a drift would naturally carry with it and deposit some of the red earth of which the soil north of Jerusalem is composed, and this when disturbed would produce the ruddy colour noticed by Eusebius and the Bordeaux Pilgrim. With regard to the movement of the water, which appears to have taken place at uncertain intervals, it is now generally accepted that the passage attributing the disturbance to the intervention of an angel is spurious; we know nothing of the times and circumstances under which the movement occurred, and can only suggest that it may have been caused by an intermittent flow of water from the aqueduct or 'drift.' During the rainy season and for some time afterwards there would be nothing unusual in such an intermittent flow.

<sup>1</sup> The lambs for the daily sacrifice were kept in one of the chambers of Beth Mokadh at the north-west corner of the Temple court.—Lightfoot, *Prospect.*, xxix.

<sup>2</sup> See *P. F. Q. S.*, 1872, pp. 47-51; and for a description of the souterrain, *P. F. Mem. : Jerusalem*, pp. 209-212.

Mons. Clermont Ganneau<sup>1</sup> has identified these souterrains with the pool Struthion of Josephus, at the side of which Titus erected one of his mounds against the fortress Antonia; and he explains the meaning of the name Struthion to be "the sparrow's pool," that is to say, the little pool, by a sort of popular *sobriquet*. It seems, however, more probable that, in this case, the word Struthion means 'soapwort,' and that the name 'Soapwort Pool' was connected with the plant used for cleansing the wool of the sheep used in the sacrifices. There would thus seem to be a connection between the 'Soapwort Pool,' the 'Sheep Pool,' and Bethesda, and they were possibly different names for the same pool.

The history of the pool appears to have been somewhat as follows: When Titus erected his mound against Antonia the porticoes were destroyed; and on the rebuilding of Jerusalem, as Ælia Capitolina, the open pool (κολυμβήθρα) was transformed into a closed reservoir (λίμνη). The pool gradually became choked with filth, and at some period prior to the Crusades, the site of Bethesda was transferred to the pool near the Church of St. Anne. The general aspect of the pool before the destruction of the porticoes is indicated in the subjoined sketch, for which I am indebted to Captain Conder, R.E.<sup>2</sup>

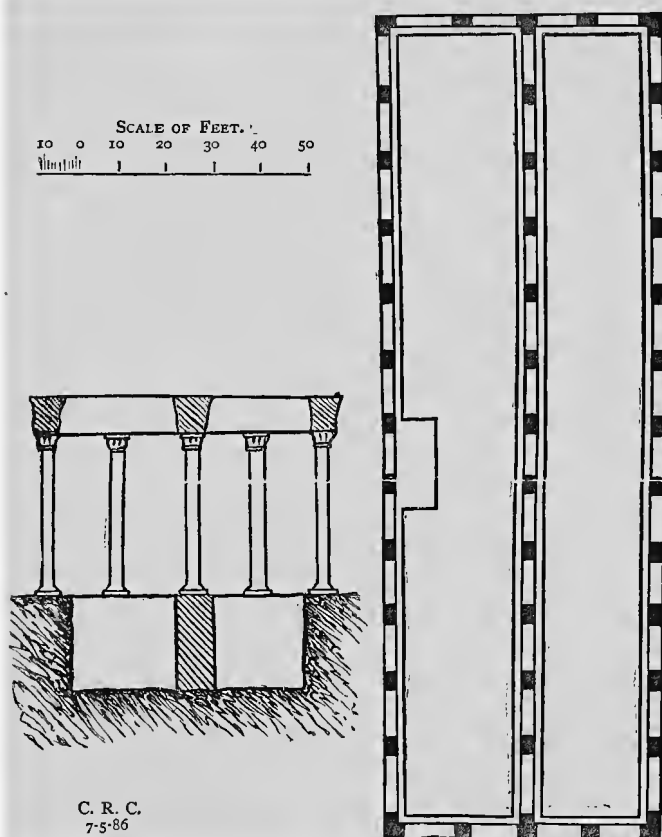
The Pool of Bethesda, or *Piscina Probatica*, is now identified with the *Birket Israil*, but this identification does not appear in any writer before Brocardus (1283 A.D.). The earlier historians of the Crusades applied the name *Piscina Probatica* to a large reservoir adjacent to the Church of St. Anne, which is now completely covered up and lost. This pool and the *Birket Israil* are generally

<sup>1</sup> *P. F. Q. S.*, 1871, 106.

<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that the whole extent of the pool has not yet been discovered, and that it may have had a greater width than is shown on the plan.

supposed to be the two large pools alluded to by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, as being near the Temple (*ad latus templi*;) and William of Tyre (viii. 4) states that their

SIR C. WILSON'S PROPOSED RESTORATION OF THE TRADITIONAL  
POOL OF BETHESDA.



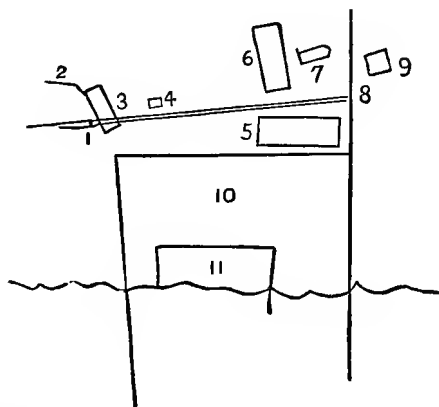
water supply was brought by aqueducts from without the city.<sup>1</sup> The *Birket Israil* is situated near the mouth of the

<sup>1</sup> In the *Citez de Jerusalem* a spring is mentioned in front of St. Anne; Brocardus and others allude to water in the upper pool; and

valley which runs into the Kedron, south of St. Stephen's Gate; the other pool is higher up the same valley, and must therefore be at a higher level; it is clear then that no arrangement of five porches, such as that described above, could have existed, and that these pools cannot represent the Bethesda of Eusebius and the Bordeaux Pilgrim.

Dr. Robinson's suggestion that Bethesda may have been at the Virgin's Fountain in the Kedron Valley is hardly tenable, for there is no trace or tradition of anything that could be called a *πολυμύθηθρα* in that locality.<sup>1</sup>

SKETCH SHOWING POSITION OF POOLS NORTH OF THE HARAM AREA.



1. Ecce Homo Arch.
2. Aqueduct.
3. Souterrains at the Convent of the Sisters of Sion; Struthion of Josephus; Bethesda of fourth century.

Sandys saw water, which must have come down the valley, trickling through the north wall of the *Birket Israil*. The source from which this water came is an interesting subject for speculation; it was probably to the north of the city, and the same as that which supplied the souterrains at the Convent of the Sisters of Sion, and the reservoir at the Church of the Flagellation.

<sup>1</sup> It may be remarked that the Jews, at the present day, bathe in the Virgin's fountain when the water rises, as a cure for rheumatism.

4. Church of the Flagellation.
5. Birket Israil ; the modern Bethesda.
6. Supposed position of the mediæval Bethesda.
- 5 and 6. The two large pools of the Bordeaux Pilgrim.
7. Church of St. Anne.
8. St. Stephen's Gate, or Gate of the Lady Mary.
9. Pool of the Lady Mary.
10. Haram Area.
11. Platform of the Dome of the Rock.

*Church of St. Mary.*—Before leaving the Pool of Bethesda a few words seem necessary on the curious tradition which places the birthplace of the Virgin in close proximity to the pool, or, according to some writers, in one of its porticoes. The earliest notice of this tradition is in Theodosius, 530 A.D., and it is scarcely necessary to add that it rests on no foundation. The legend appears to have originated in that desire to localize all the events of the Virgin's life (*e.g.*, her death in the 'Mother Church of all Churches' on Sion), which grew up in the fifth century after the Council of Ephesus; and we should probably not be far wrong in attributing it to Juvenal of Jerusalem. The modern Church of the Flagellation apparently occupies the site of the original Church of St. Mary; and when Bethesda was transferred to the pool near the Church of St. Anne, the birthplace of the Virgin was found in the grotto beneath that Church.

It is perhaps worthy of remark that the Arab name of the Church of St. Anne is *Beit hanna*, 'House of Anne,' an expression which is exactly identical with Bethesda, both signifying 'House of Mercy.' The Mary legend has also left traces in the Arab nomenclature of this portion of the city; as *Bab Sitti Maryam*, 'Gate of the Lady Mary' (St. Stephen's Gate), and *Birket Sitti Maryam*, 'Pool of the Lady Mary,' outside the walls.

## APPENDIX IV.

### THE POSITION OF SION IN THE FOURTH AND FOLLOWING CENTURIES.

THE passage, in the original, relating to Sion reads as follows :

‘Item exeunti Hierusalem, ut ascendas Sion, in parte sinistra et deorsum in valle, juxta murum, est piscina, que dicitur Siloa . . . . . Ex<sup>1</sup> eadem ascenditur Sion, et paret, ubi fuit domus Caiphe sacerdotis, et columna adhuc ibi est, in qua Christum flagellis ceciderunt. Intus autem, intra murum Sion, paret locus, ubi palatium habuit David.’<sup>2</sup>

It is evident from this passage that the Bordeaux Pilgrim considered the western hill of Jerusalem to be Sion. He passes from Jerusalem, that is the Temple mount (*Haram esh Sherif*), which he has just been describing, to Sion, and he mentions that Siloam lay to the left of his road ; this would not have been the case if Sion had occupied any other position than that now assigned to it. Whether the Pilgrim was right in his identification is another question ; it seems impossible to accept a Christian tradition, even though it be of the fourth century, which is in such direct conflict with the very positive statements, connecting Sion with the Temple mount, which are to be found in the first Book of Maccabees.<sup>3</sup> The author of this book is unknown,

<sup>1</sup> Some MSS. read ‘In eadem.’

<sup>2</sup> The text adopted by the Société de l’Orient Latin.

<sup>3</sup> See especially 1 Macc. iv. 36-38, v. 54, and vii. 33.

but, whoever he may have been, he certainly knew Jerusalem well, and is more likely to have been correct upon a question of local topography than the Christians of the fourth century. The theory that the name Sion was transferred from the western to the eastern hill after the return from captivity, and that at a later period, fourth century A.D., it was re-transferred to the western hill, is quite untenable, and unsupported by any evidence, documentary or otherwise. There is no direct clue to the position of Sion in the Old Testament, where the name is apparently used in a double sense; topographically it perhaps denotes the whole or part of the Temple mount, and poetically and figuratively the two hills and entire city of Jerusalem.

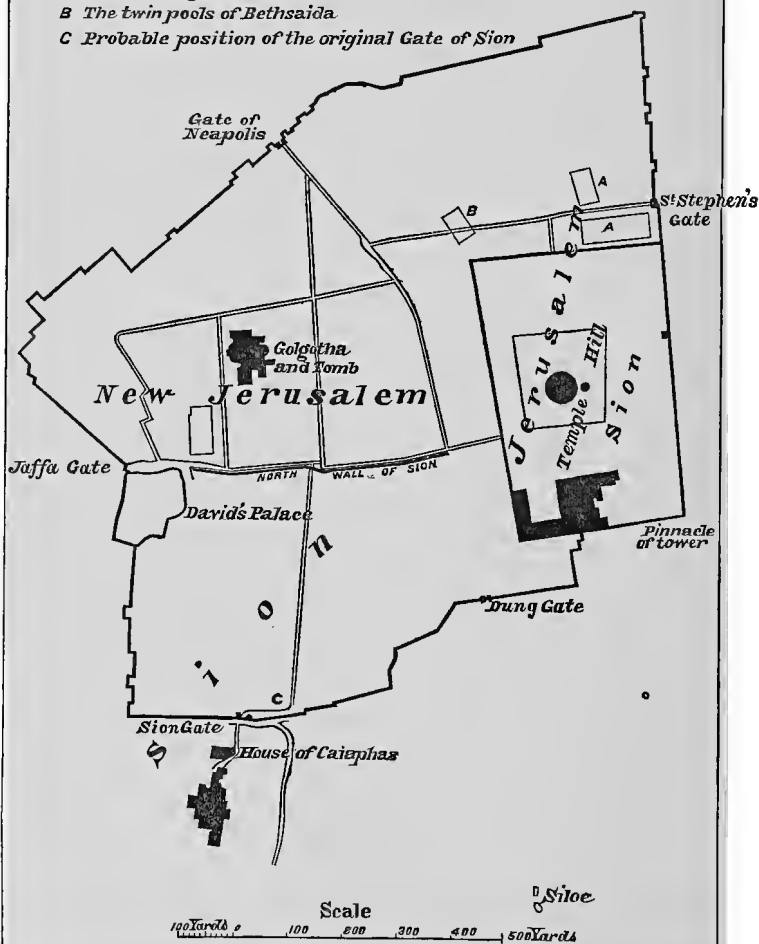
The point to be considered here, however, is the position of Sion in the fourth and following centuries, and it must be confessed that the evidence is somewhat conflicting. Rabbinical tradition certainly connects Sion with the eastern hill, upon which the Temple was built; and so does Origen (*In Joan.* iv. 19-20; Migne xiv. 417). Eusebius (*In Is.*, xxii. 1) takes the same view, and so apparently does Jerome in some of his writings (see below). On the other hand, Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (*s. v.* 'Acheldemach' and 'Golgotha') evidently connect Sion with the western hill; and in this they are followed by all later writers. It may be remarked that the Pilgrim alludes to the eastern hill as 'Jerusalem,' apparently adopting the phraseology of the period, which gave to Constantine's buildings the title 'New Jerusalem,' in contradistinction to the older city, 'Jerusalem,' on the eastern hill.<sup>1</sup> May we not suppose that as there were two Jerusalems so there

<sup>1</sup> 'On the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings the New Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one celebrated of old.'—Euseb., *Vit. Const.*, iii. 33. Socrates and others write in somewhat similar terms.

*A The two large Pools*

*B The twin pools of Bethsaida.*

*C Probable position of the original Gate of Sion*





were two Sions—the old connected with the Temple, and the new, on which stood ‘the Mother of all Churches’—and that the application of the name to the eastern hill fell into disuse and was soon lost when Christianity became the religion of the State? Possibly also, as Sion was looked upon as the citadel of Jerusalem, the name was connected with the citadel, now existing, on the western hill, and so was transferred to the hill itself, when the more ancient citadel on the eastern hill was destroyed after the capture of the city by Titus. It is perhaps deserving of notice that the earlier writers, when commenting on Scripture, connect Sion with the eastern hill, but when they deal with topographical features as existing in their day, they identify Sion with the western hill.

Jerusalem at the date of the Pilgrim’s visit differed little, except as regards the new buildings of Constantine, from the *Ælia* of Hadrian; and the walls of *Ælia* probably followed nearly the same line as those of the present day. There was, however, at that time a wall on the northern brow of modern Sion, mentioned afterwards by Arculfus (i.), which was apparently built on the foundations of the first wall of ancient Jerusalem, and ran from the Jaffa Gate to the edge of the cliff overlooking the causeway at Wilson’s Arch. It would also appear from the direction of the modern streets, and from a plan of Jerusalem of the twelfth century, that the city was divided into four quarters by two main streets; one, running eastward, from the Jaffa Gate, which passed through the Haram Area, and the Golden Gate, or postern near it, to the Kedron Valley;<sup>1</sup> the other, running southward, from the Damascus Gate,

<sup>1</sup> Before the Haram Area was closed by the Moslems, the shortest way from a large portion of the city to the Kedron Valley lay through it: and the existence of such a road is clearly indicated in some of the old narratives.

which seems to have left the city by a gate to the east of the modern Sion Gate, and to have been continued thence to the Valley of Hinnom.<sup>1</sup>

On the plan on page 58 I have attempted to indicate some of the places mentioned by the Pilgrim.

#### REFERENCES TO SION IN EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

'But the Jews, who consider Sion to be sacred, think that place to be the habitation of God, chosen by the Father of all, and for this reason they say that the Temple was built in it by Solomon, and all the Levitical and priestly ritual was performed there. . . . The Jews call Sion, what it indeed is, the watch-tower.'—Origen, *In Joan*, iv. 19, 20 ; Migne, xiv. 417 ; A.D. 240.

'If also our own history hath any weight, we have seen with our eyes in our own days the once famous Sion ploughed with yokes of oxen by the Romans, and Jerusalem, as the prophecy itself declares, reduced to utter desolation like a deserted hut.'—Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.*, vi. 13 ; Migne, xxii. 436.

'Sion is a high hill upon which the Temple of God was built.'—Eusebius, *In Is.*, xxii. 1 ; A.D. 330.

'Isaiah lived nearly a thousand years ago, and looked upon Sion as a tent. The city was then standing, adorned with public buildings, and at the height of its reputation ; and (his book) says, "Sion shall be ploughed like a field ;" foretelling that which has come to pass in our time. And observe the exactness of his prophecy, for he said, "The daughter of Sion shall be left like a tent (A.V., cottage) in a vineyard, and as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers"—now is this passage fulfilled.'—Cyril, *Cat.*, xvi. ; Migne, xxxiii. 944 ; A.D. 370.

'Now Sion is the hill on which the city of Jerusalem is built, which, after it was taken by David, was named the City of David. Nor do I doubt that there were holy men therein, when it possessed the tabernacle of God, and when afterwards the Temple was built.'—Jerome, *In Is.*, i. 21.

'But from the hill of Sion, on which Jerusalem is built ; and from

<sup>1</sup> The existing Sion Gate, contrary to the usual custom, stands at the end of no street ; it was built by Suleiman when he rebuilt the walls of the city in their present form, probably to lead more directly to the Tomb of David. The view that the position of the gate was changed is supported by the twelfth century plan, which shows the Cœnaculum to the west of the Sion Gate, and not opposite as it is at present.

Jerusalem, in which is the Temple and the holiness of God.'—Jerome, *In Is.*, ii. 3.

'*The burden of the valley of Vision* was translated distinctly by the LXX. *the word of the valley of Sion*, although the words are not found in the Hebrew. For this city is the birthplace of the prophets, in which the Temple was built, and the Lord hath often revealed Himself. . . . But in the times of Sennacherib, when Sobna the High Priest betrayed a great part of the city to the enemy, and only Sion—that is, the citadel and the Temple—and the nobles remained, after the manner of the city of Rome, which during the Gaulish invasion preserved the patricians and the flower of its youth in the Capitol.'—Jerome, *In Is.*, xxii. 1, 2.

'*Depart and go in to him who dwells in the tabernacle, to Sobna the guardian of the Temple*—who, the Hebrew tradition declares, was frightened at the threats of Rabsakeh, and surrendered and betrayed the lower part of Jerusalem to the enemy, and, with the exception of the hill of Sion and the Temple, nothing else remained which was not held by the Assyrian.'—Jerome, *In Is.*, xxxvi.

'Sion and Jerusalem differ in their names; but as there is one city, so there is one Church.'—Jerome, *In Is.*, xli. 25.

'Therefore doth Sion rejoice and Jerusalem is glad, one and the same city (for Sion is the citadel of Jerusalem), because her King cometh to her, He who was promised in the prophecies of the prophets.'—Jerome, *In Zach.*, ix. 9, 10.

'But how the middle part of the city was taken, and the rest of the people still remained in the city, was shown both at that time and at others: the northern and lower part of the city being taken, while the hill of the Temple and Sion, in which was the citadel, remained inviolate.'—Jerome, *In Zach.*, xiii. 1, 2.

'And thou shalt be chased, saith he, to the valley which is between the Temple and Sion. For these two mountains, that of the Temple and of Sion, are called the hills of God; because that valley of Mount Olivet, which is bounded on both sides by steep mountains, extends its hollow as far as the hill of the Temple, which is the holy hill.'—Jerome, *In Zach.*, xiv. 5.

'We cannot doubt, especially those of us who live in this province, that Siloe is the fountain at the foot of Mount Sion.'—Jerome, *In Is.*, viii. 5, 6. Elsewhere (*In Matt.*, x. 28) Jerome mentions an idol of Baal at the foot of Mount Moriah where Siloe flowed, which looks as if in the first instance he referred to the eastern hill as Mount Sion.

In the *Onomasticon* Sion is simply noticed as a hill in Jerusalem; but Aceldama is said by Jerome to have been to the south<sup>1</sup> of Mount

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, from whom Jerome translated, places Aceldama to the north of Mount Sion.

Sion ; and Golgotha is placed by Eusebius and Jerome to the north of Mount Sion. It would appear from the *Onomasticon*, if we follow Jerome, that Sion lay between Aceldama and Golgotha, a position now occupied by the modern Sion with regard to the traditional sites of those two places.

From the 'Sepulchre of the Resurrection' St. Paula ascended Sion, 'which signifies citadel or watch-tower,' and saw there a church and the Column of the Flagellation.—Jerome, 'Per. Stæ. Paulæ,' vii.; A.D. 420.

Epiphanius speaks of 'the height (ἡ ἄκρα) which once existed in Sion, but which has now been cut down.'—'Adv. Hær.' xlv. 5 ; Migne, xli. 844, 845.

'The site of the city (Jerusalem) is almost circular in form, with no small circuit of walls, within which also it now includes the Mount Sion, formerly a neighbouring hill, which now stands on the southern side and overhangs the city like a citadel. The greater part of the city lies below the Mount, situated on the flat portion of a lower hill. The northern side of Mount Sion is occupied by clergy and religious persons ; on a flat space on the summit are cells of monks surrounding a church which, it is said, was founded there by the Apostles in reverence of the place of the Lord's resurrection, because, as promised before by the Lord, they were filled with the Holy Ghost.'—Eucherius, i., ii.

'These (the Tomb and Golgotha), however, are seen to be situated beyond the Mount Sion, where the rising ground is depressed as it stretches towards the north.' Siloam is said to burst forth at the foot of the eastern side of Sion.—Eucherius, iv., vii. ; A.D. 440.

'From Golgotha to Saint Sion, which is the mother of all churches, are 200 paces ; which Sion Our Lord founded with His Apostles.' 'From St. Sion to the House of Caiaphas, which is now the Church of St. Peter, are about fifty paces.'—Theod., vi. ; A.D. 530.

Arculf (A.D. 670) states that the Gate of David was on the west side of Sion (i. 1), and clearly identifies Sion with the western hill. All later Christian writers prior to the Crusades hold the same view.

All Jewish writers connect Sion with the Temple hill, and Lightfoot (*The Fall of Jerusalem*, § 1) quotes from the Talmud, 'And on that day (the fatal ninth day of the month Ab), a day allotted to vengeance, the wicked Turnus Rufus plowed up the place of the Temple, and the places about it, to accomplish what is said, Sion shall become a plowed field.'

## APPENDIX V.

### POSITION OF GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE ACCORDING TO THE BORDEAUX PILGRIM.

THE full text of the passage relating to Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre is as follows :—

‘Inde ut eas foras murum de Sion,<sup>1</sup> eunti ad *portam Neapolitanam* ad partem dextram, deorsum in valle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive *pretorium* Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est, antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus *Golgotha*, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidis missum est *crypta*, ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertio die surrexit. Ibidem modo jussu *Constantini* imperatoris *basilica* facta est, id est, dominicum mire pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoriam, unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo, ubi infantes lavantur.’ (Text adopted by the Société de l’Orient Latin.)

Some twenty years ago the correct interpretation of this passage, and the exact force of the words ‘*foras murum*,’ were the subject of heated controversy. On the one hand, it was maintained that *foras murum* simply expresses the act of going outside the wall ; that the ‘*Porta Neapolitana*’ was so named from its being the gate by which the road to Neapolis left Jerusalem, and that it occupied the position of the present Damascus Gate ; and that the buildings in

<sup>1</sup> *P.* foris m. de Sion ; *V.* foris murus de Sion.

course of erection by Constantine occupied the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. On the other hand, the late Mr. Fergusson contended<sup>1</sup> that the Pilgrim meant 'that, passing *outwards* from the Sion Gate, a person going to the Neapolitan Gate, *outside the wall*, "*foris murum*," has the house of Pilate down in the valley on the right . . . ;' and he identified the 'Porta Neapolitana' with the gate (Golden Gate) of the New Jerusalem of Eusebius; and Constantine's church with the Dome of the Rock. In his latest work,<sup>2</sup> however, Mr. Fergusson, whilst maintaining his identification of Constantine's church, did not insist on the forced meaning of *foras murum*; and identified the 'Porta Neapolitana' with the 'Porta Speciosa' of the Middle Ages, in the west wall of the Haram Area.

There can be no doubt that *foras murum* has not the meaning attributed to it by Mr. Fergusson, and the interpretation of Porta Neapolitana as Gate of the New City seems also somewhat strained. It must be remembered that the Holy Sepulchre was discovered in 325 A.D., that the buildings of Constantine were commenced in 326 and dedicated in 335 A.D., and that the Pilgrim visited Jerusalem in 333 A.D., two years before the buildings were finished. It is unlikely that a town large enough to be called Neapolis had sprung up round Constantine's unfinished churches at the time of the Pilgrim's visit; and it may be remarked that though the group of buildings at the Sepulchre is often called New Jerusalem in early Christian writings, in contradistinction to the old centre of worship on Mount Moriah, it is never once

<sup>1</sup> *Notes on the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 52. In the *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. 'Jerusalem,' Mr. Fergusson says, 'From this it is evident that, passing out of the modern Zion Gate, he turned round the outside of the walls to the left.'

<sup>2</sup> *Temples of the Jews*, p. 275.

called Neapolis or the New City. It seems more natural to suppose that, according to a very prevalent custom in all countries, the gate derived its name from the first important town on the road which passed out through it from the city. In this case the town would be Neapolis,<sup>1</sup> whence the Pilgrim had just arrived; and I believe the text can only be explained by supposing the *Porta Neapolitana* to have been a gate in the north wall of the city occupying a position at, or not far from, the modern *Damascus Gate*.<sup>2</sup> It follows from this identification that the buildings of Constantine, mentioned by the Pilgrim, occupied the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and it may be remarked that the principal points of interest in Jerusalem are described in the most methodical manner. The Pilgrim commences with the two large pools, and the Pool of Bethesda at the northern end of the Temple hill; he then proceeds southwards, and, after making a complete tour through the city, passes out by the Eastern Gate to the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the Mount of Olives. All the places are mentioned in their proper order, first from north to south, and then from south to north; the sites connected with the Temple, Siloam, the house of Caiaphas, David's palace, Golgotha and the Tomb, and the gate in the north wall (see map, p. 58). Some difficulty exists in identifying the ruins which the Pilgrim believed to be those of the *Prætorium*, from the fact that he places them in the valley. Several writers have supposed that he referred to the ruins

<sup>1</sup> At a later date, 530 A.D., Theodosius states (x.) that St. Stephen was stoned outside the Gate of Galilee (*Damascus Gate*), a name which indicates that travellers passed out through it on their way to Galilee.

<sup>2</sup> It is just possible, though not probable, that the name *Porta Neapolitana* was attached to the *Ecce Homo Arch*, which is supposed to have been erected by Hadrian when he built *Ælia* on the ruins of Jerusalem.

of the tower Antonia at the north-west angle of the Haram Area, where modern tradition places the Prætorium. This place, however, lies so high that any ruins near it could not possibly be described as lying in a valley; and the narrative seems to demand a site not far from the western entrance of the old Cotton Bazaar (*Suk el Kattanin.*) For the different sites assigned to the Prætorium see Tobler (*Topog. von Jerusalem*, 220-229); and the English edition of Antoninus's *Itinerary* (note to p. 19). The view held by some recent writers is that the Prætorium, at the date of the Crucifixion, was the palace of Herod, near the Jaffa Gate, which was certainly occupied by Gessius Florus, and probably also by Pontius Pilate.



## APPENDIX VI.

THE section of the *Itinerary* from Scythopolis to Neapolis is incomplete, for it gives a distance of only twenty-one Roman miles between the two towns, instead of twenty-nine, which is the actual distance between *Beisân* and *Nâblus* as measured along the old Roman road. The Pilgrim undoubtedly followed this road, as it was the shortest route between the two places, and was part of the great line of communication from Neapolis to Damascus. The *Antonine Itinerary* is unfortunately even more defective, for it gives (197) a distance of only seventeen Roman miles between Scythopolis and Neapolis.

<i>Jerusalem Itinerary.</i>		M.P.	<i>Antonine Itinerary.</i>		M.P.
Scythopolis	-		Scythopolis		
Aser	-	vi	In Medio	-	x
Neapolis	- -	xv	Neapolis	- -	vii
		<hr/>			<hr/>
		xxi			xvii

Aser is evidently identical with the Aser which Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom.*) identify with the Asher of Josh. xvii. 7, and place fifteen miles from Neapolis on the road from that town to Scythopolis. This distance agrees with that between *Nâblus* and *Teiasâr*, on the old Roman road to *Beisân*, and we may therefore safely identify Aser with *Teiasâr*, a place which is also believed to be the Thirza of the Bible. Between Scythopolis and Aser a station appears

to have dropped out, for the actual distance is M.P. xiv, which agrees more nearly with the reading (xvi) of the Verona MS. (V.) than with the reading, M.P. vi, of the text. The missing station was probably at *Kh. Kâ'aân*, an ancient site, possibly the Cola of Judith xv. 4, where there is a good spring. This place is M.P. vii both from *Beisân* and *Teiastîr*, being exactly half-way between the two places.

In the *Antonine Itinerary* Aser is omitted, and we have in its place the station 'In Medio,' which appears to be the modern *Kh. Ferweh* at the southern group of springs in *Wâdy Fâr'ah*. This ruin is M.P. vii from *Nâblus*, thus agreeing with the distance between In Medio and Neapolis, and a number of fallen columns show that it must have been a place of some importance on the Roman road. The distance, M.P. x, opposite the station In Medio in the text, is apparently that from the missing station, Aser. It is given as M.P. vi and xii in two MSS. (*Part. et Pind.* 88,) and is perhaps a corrupt reading of M.P. viii, the actual distance between *Teiastîr* and *Kh. Ferweh*.

The section of the *Itinerary* may be restored as follows :

			M.P.
Scythopolis (Bethshean, <i>Beisân</i> )	-	-	-
„ (Cola, <i>Kh. Kâ'aân</i> )			vii
Aser (Thirza, <i>Teiastîr</i> )	-	-	vii
In Medio ( <i>Kh. Ferweh</i> )			viii
Neapolis (Shechem, <i>Nâblus</i> )	-		vii
			<hr/>
			xxix

THE END.

















